

한국민속대백과사전 V
한국민속극사전



Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture Vol.V

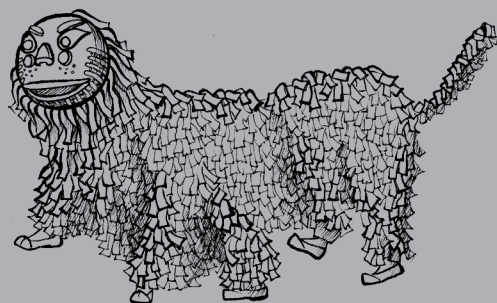
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF KOREAN FOLK DRAMA



National Folk Museum of Korea

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF KOREAN FOLK DRAMA

Foreword

Interest in the intangible cultural heritage of humanity is greater these days than ever before. UNESCO continues to produce a list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity to safeguard and preserve the precious traditional cultural heritage of communities around the world. In the midst of such heightened awareness, the National Folk Museum of Korea has compiled a vast quantity of materials that attest to the spiritual roots of the Korean people, and has been publishing the ongoing *Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture* since 2002.

To publish encyclopedias that are useful to both ordinary people and specialists alike, the collected materials on Korean folk culture were divided into eight themes. As of 2020, we have published the *Encyclopedia of Korean Seasonal Customs*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Beliefs*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Literature*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Rites of Passage*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Art*, and *Encyclopedia of Food, Clothing, and Housing in Korea*. By 2027, the *Encyclopedia of Occupations and Skills in Korea*, and *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Society* will be added to this series.

In addition, an English language edition will be published following completion of each Korean edition of an encyclopedia on a particular theme. The National Folk Museum of Korea will continue to produce the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture* series, hoping that such efforts will lead to a complete compilation of books on Korea's folk cultural heritage, which has been passed down for thousands of years.

Lastly, I would like to thank all those who worked so hard to produce this volume, the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Drama*, including the translators, authors, advisors, and editors. Also, my heartfelt thanks go to the staff of the museum's encyclopedia compilation team, who have spared no time or effort in realizing this project.

Yoon Sung-yong

Director General
National Folk Museum of Korea
August 2020

Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Drama

Notes

- This dictionary is the English-language edition of the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Drama*, a part of the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture* series published by the National Folk Museum of Korea.
- The entries in this dictionary are divided into the categories of folk drama, dance, characters, and terms, and arranged in alphabetical order within each category.
- The sources or holding institutions are provided for the photos, figures, and illustrations that facilitate the understanding of the content.

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Minsokgeuk 민속극

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Bongsan Talchum	봉산탈춤	Masked dance-drama from Bongsan, Hwanghae-do Province.	049
Bukcheong Sajanori	북청사자놀이	Lion play from the Bukcheong region of Hamgyeongnam-do Province.	059
Eunyul Talchum	은율탈춤	Masked dance-drama from Eunyul-gun, Hwanghae-do Province.	066
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Dongnae Yaryu	동래야류	Masked dance-drama from Dongnae-gu, Busan.	160
Suyeong Yaryu	수영야류	Masked dance-drama from Suyeong-gu, Busan.	167
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Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonggeuk	강릉관노가면극	Masked dance-drama originally performed by government slaves in Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province.	184
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Jain Palgwangdae	자인팔광대	Masked dance-drama from the Jain area in Gyeongsangbuk-do Province.	202
Jindo Dasiraegi	진도다시래기	Performance of music, dance and drama held at a house of mourning in Jindo.	207
Yecheon Cheongdan noreum	예천청단놀이	Mimed masked dance-drama from Yecheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province.	212
Inhyeonggeuk	인형극	Puppet theater; performing art using puppets.	218
Baltal	발탈	Puppet play using the feet.	226
Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk	장연꼭두각시극	Puppet play from the Jangyeon area of Hwanghae-do Province.	229
Kkokdugaksi	꼭두각시	First wife; main character in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.	232

Kkokdugaksinoreum	꼭두각시놀음	Only surviving traditional Korean puppet play.	233
Manseokjung nori	만석중놀이	Mimed Buddhist puppet play.	239
Seosan Parkcheomji nori	서산박침지놀이	Puppet play from Seosan, Chungcheongnam-do Province.	243

Gut nori	굿놀이	Dramatic sequences in <i>gut</i> , or rites performed by shamans.	250
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Roles 배역·연희자

Aesadang	애사당	Daughter of Waejangnyeo; a silent character in <i>sandaenori</i> performances.	259
Baltalkkun	발탈꾼	Actor and puppeteer in <i>baltal</i> , foot puppet play.	262
Chwibari	취발이	A character who clashes with the old monk Nojang over a woman.	267
Daejabi	대잡이	Puppeteer in traditional Korean puppet plays.	269
Deolmeorijip	덜머리집	Concubine of the old man, Yeonggam.	272
Dokki	도끼	Son of Sinharabi and brother of Dokkinui in <i>sandaenori</i> performances.	275
Dokkinui	도끼누이	Daughter of Sinharabi and sister of Dokki in <i>sandaenori</i> performances.	277
Eomuldoga Juin	어물도가 주인	Fishmonger who appears in <i>baltal</i> , foot puppet play.	279
Halmi	할미	Old woman who is the wife of Yeonggam in masked dance-dramas.	282
Hong Dongji	홍동지	Key character in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.	288
Malttugi	말뚝이	Servant of the noblemen appearing in <i>bonsandaenori</i> performances.	289

Manseokjung	만석중	Monk who is the main character in Manseokjung nori.	291
Meokjung	먹중	Depraved monk appearing in masked dance-dramas.	293
Namgangnoin	남강노인	Elderly deity who appears in Bongsan Talchum and Gangnyeong Talchum.	295
Nojang	노장	Old Buddhist monk who becomes an apostate.	298
Park Cheomji	박첨지	Key character in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.	300
Pijori	피조리	Name of novice monks or nieces of Park Cheomji in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.	302
Podobujang	포도부장	Young policeman who clashes with the feeble old scholar Saennim over a woman.	304
Pyeongangamsa	평안감사	Governor of Pyeongan-do Province in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.	306
Saja	사자	Masked lion character.	308
Sanbaji	산발이	Actor in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.	310
Sangdukkun	상두꾼	Bier bearer who carries the funeral bier of Halmi, the old woman.	312
Sangjwa	상좌	Silent novice monk appearing in masked dance-dramas.	316
Seonnyeo	선녀	Fairy character in <i>ogwangdae</i> and <i>yaryu</i> performances.	319
Sinjangsu	신장수	Shoe seller who appears in masked dance-dramas.	322
Sinjubu	신주부	Oriental doctor who performs acupuncture in <i>sandaenori</i> performances.	323
Somu	소무	Name of a tavern woman or concubine.	326
Waejangnyeo	왜장녀	Tavern owner, who is accompanied by her daughter Aesadang.	329
Wanbo	완보	One of the eight depraved monks in <i>sandaenori</i> performances.	332
Yangban	양반	Nobleman character appearing in masked dance-dramas.	334

Yeonggam	영감	Old man who is Halmi's husband in masked dance-dramas.	342
Yeongno	영노	Monster appearing in masked dance-dramas from Gyeongsangnam-do Province.	344
Yuramgaek	유람객	Wanderer character who appears in <i>baltal</i> , foot puppet play.	346

Masked Dance 춤

Deotbaegichum	덧배기춤	Folk dance performed to cut down <i>deot</i> , or evil spirits that bring plague.	351
Geodeureumchum	거드름춤	Slow dance of three Buddhist monks making use of their robes or long sleeve ends.	354
Georeumgeorichum	걸음걸이춤	Walking steps performed with hand movements to highlight character traits.	358
Halmichum	할미춤	Dance performed by the old woman, Halmi.	360
Heoteunchum	허튼춤	Improvised dance in masked dance-dramas.	362
Jarachum	자라춤	"Turtle dance," performed by Somu to seduce the old monk, Nojang.	364
Kkaekkichum	깨끼춤	Various dance steps and hand movements performed to the <i>taryeong jangdan</i> .	366
Malttugichum	말뚝이춤	Dance performed by Malttugi.	368
Meokjungchum	먹중춤	Dance performed by the depraved monks.	371
Mundung Talchum	문둥탈춤	Dance performed by Mundungi, who suffers leprosy.	373
Sangjwachum	상좌춤	Dance performed by the novice monks.	376
Sisittakttagichum	시시딱딱이춤	Dance performed by two Sisittaktagi in Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk.	378
Unsimge Jakbeop	운심계작법	Buddhist ritual dance.	381

Terms 용어

Aksa	악사	Professional musician performing in folk drama and shaman rites.	385
Bullim	불림	Physical gestures or songs signaling musicians for a certain rhythm.	389
Dwipuri	뒤풀이	Post-performance celebration.	390
Gilnori	길놀이	Pre-performance street procession.	392
Hahoetal	하회탈	Masks worn in Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori.	394
Inhyeong	인형	Human or animal puppet used in puppet plays.	400
Jaedam	재담	Witty remarks in folk drama.	402
Jangdan	장단	Rhythms used in traditional Korean music.	403
Tal	탈	Mask worn to express a certain character.	406
Tteiru Tteiru	떼이루 떼이루	Song that starts the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.	409

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KOREAN FOLK DRAMA

Masked dance-drama

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- 049 Bongsan Talchum
- 066 Eunyul Talchum

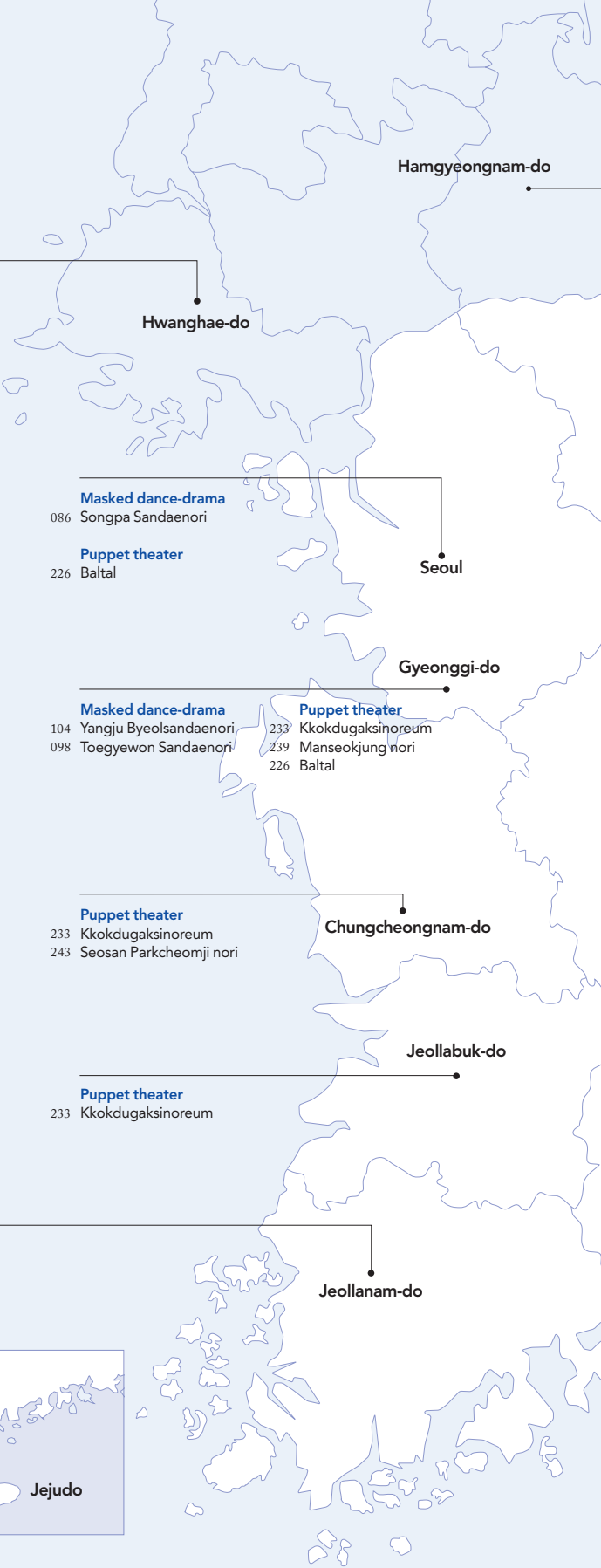
Puppet theater

- 229 Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk



Masked dance-drama

- 207 Jindo Dasiraegi



Masked dance-drama

- 086 Songpa Sandaenori

Puppet theater

- 226 Baltal

Masked dance-drama

- 104 Yangju Byeolsandaenori
- 098 Toegyeon Sandaenori

Puppet theater

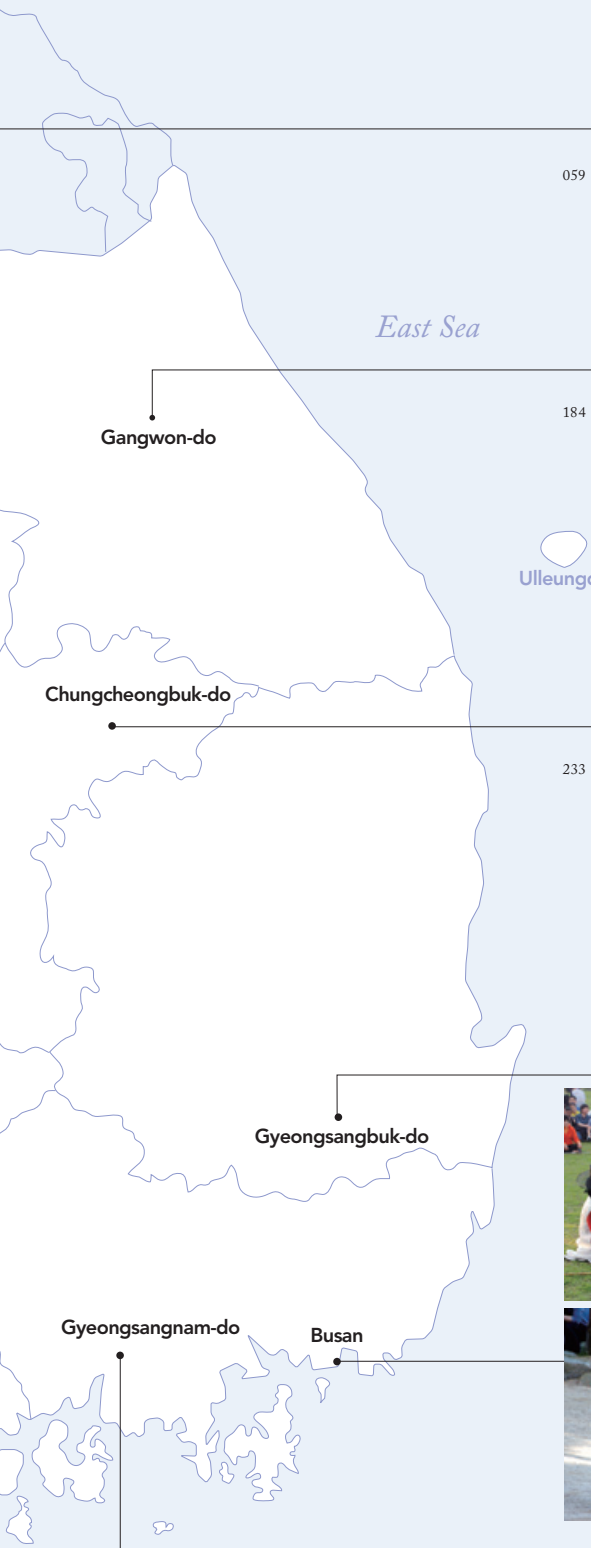
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Puppet theater

- 233 Kkokdugaksinoreum
- 243 Seosan Parkcheomji nori

Puppet theater

- 233 Kkokdugaksinoreum



Masked dance-drama
059 Bukcheong Sajanori



Masked dance-drama
184 Gangneung Gwanno Gamyengeuk



Ulleungdo

Dokdo

Chungcheongbuk-do

Puppet theater
233 Kkokdugaksinoreum



Gyeongsangbuk-do



Masked dance-drama

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- Puppet theater**
- 233 Kkokdugaksinoreum

Minsokgeuk

민속극

Traditional Korean folk drama.

Traditional folk drama handed down among the common people including *gamyongeuk* (masked dance-drama), *Kkokdugaksinoruem* (title of a puppet play), *mudang gut nori* (shaman ritual drama), *baltal* (foot mask drama), and Jindo Dasiraegi.

Forms of traditional folk drama, or *minsokgeuk* (Kor. 민속극, Chin. 民俗劇, lit. folk drama), performed in Korea today include *gamyongeuk*, *Kkokdugaksinoruem*, *mudang gut nori*, *baltal*, and Jindo Dasiraegi. The diversity of this genre in the past also included a form of comic drama called *uhui* (Kor. 우희, Chin. 優戲, lit. excellent drama), *Manseokjung nori* (Monk Manseok puppet play), and *yeong-deunghui* (Kor. 영등희, Chin. 影燈戲, lit. shadow light drama), a form of shadow theater.

Minsokgeuk is theater handed down among the common people, a comprehensive performing art combining music, dance, drama and language. As it was passed on from one generation to the next, it was not recorded in written language and therefore had no fixed script. Hence folk drama can be defined as drama that was generated by the needs of the ordinary people in their daily lives and communally preserved and recreated without relying on written records. It was performed as a congratulatory village event or as a crowd pleasing show and as it faithfully reflected the lives and thoughts of ordinary people it has an innately antagonistic attitude to the *yangban* class (nobility or ruling class). The form and contents have been handed down together, and through performance folk drama goes through the process of recreation, and the drama is pure oral literature.

Other major characteristics of traditional Korean folk drama are as follows: 1) the actors are masked or in disguise (Kor. 가장, Chin. 假裝, lit. false adornment), 2) compressed incidents are expressed through dialogue and body gestures, and 3) it is an independent performing art that does not rely on any other performance. That is, it must contain all the elements necessary for a staged drama.

The three conditions mentioned above are completely fulfilled by masked dance-drama, puppet theater and *baltal*. First, the actors are disguised by wearing masks in masked dance-drama, by using puppets in puppet theater, and by wearing masks on the feet, which are moved to act like puppets, in *baltal*. Various means are used to effectively express behavior that has been intensified through acute conflict, and this is conveyed through words and body actions. Folk drama is neither part of nor reliant on any other folklore but is an independent performing art in itself.

In *gamyongeuk*, or masked dance-drama, the actors perform dramatic scenes wearing the masks of human or animal characters. It is also called *talchum* (Kor. 탈춤, lit. mask dance), *talnori* (Kor. 탈놀이, lit. mask play), and *talnoreum* (Kor. 탈놀음, lit. mask play). It also goes by different names according to region: *sandaenori* in Seoul and Gyeonggi-do Province; *talchum* in Hwanghae-do Province; *yaryu* (Kor. 야류, Chin. 野遊, lit. playing in the field) in the region east of the Nakdonggang River in Gyeongsangnam-do Province; and *ogwangdae* (Kor. 오광대, Chin. 五廣大, lit. performance of five clowns) in the region west of the Nakdonggang River.

Korean *gamyongeuk* is largely divided into two types: one is derived from village shaman rites, and the other from *bonsandaenori*. *Gamyongeuk* derived from village rites refers to indigenous, spontaneously generated masked dance-dramas that evolved from village rites to the tutelary deity, called *dongje* (Kor. 동제, Chin. 洞祭, lit. neighborhood sacrifice) or larger rites in counties, called *eupchi-jeui* (Kor. 읍치제의, Chin. 邑治祭儀, lit. city government sacrificial rite). Whether held at the village or county unit, such rites were religious in nature and held for the same basic reasons, namely to pray for the welfare of the village or county. They also had the nature of harvest rites to pray for an abundant crop or catch of fish. County rites such as the Gangneung Dano festival were held at the level of the *gun* (county) administrative unit, while village rites were held at the *maeul* (village) unit. During these rites a variety of performances were held, and these developed into masked dance-dramas such as Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori and Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk. Aside from these two examples, masked dance-dramas derived from village or county rites appeared all over the country, including Byeongsan Byeolsingut Talnori in Andong and Yeongyang Talnori in Gyeongsangbuk-do Province.

The second type of masked dance-dramas are those derived from *bonsandaenori*. Scholars use the term *bonsandaenori* in reference to a type of masked

dance-drama called *sandaenori* that was performed in parts of Seoul, such as Aeogae and Sajikgol, and thus distinguish it from *byeolsandaenori*, a type of masked dance-drama performed in Songpa in Seoul and Yangju in Gyeonggi-do Province. The prefix *byeol* means “separate,” and *byeolsandaenori* was so named to distinguish it as a separate form of *sandaenori* to *bonsandaenori* performed in Seoul. In the latter half of the Joseon Dynasty, *bonsandaenori* was performed in Seoul by servants called *banin* (Kor. 반인, Chin. 泮人, lit. people of Seonggyungwan) who belonged to Seonggyungwan, the national Confucian academy. It is a form of masked dance-drama that recreates the theater traditions of *sanak* (Kor. 산악, Chin. 散樂, lit. scattered music) and *baekhui* (Kor. 백희, Chin. 百戲, lit. one hundred dramas), which had been handed down from the Three Kingdoms period, and existing masked drama. Under the influence of *bonsandaenori*, various regional masked dance-dramas were created: Songpa Sandaenori, Yangju Byeolsandaenori, and Toegyewon Sandaenori, which are performed in Seoul



Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori troupe | Hahoe Village, Andong | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

and Gyeonggi-do Province; Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, and Eunyul Talchum in Hwanghae-do Province; Suyeong Yaryu, Dongnae Yaryu, Tongyeong Ogwangdae, Goseong Ogwangdae, Gasan Ogwangdae, Jinju Ogwangdae in Gyeongsangnam-do Province; and *doetboegi*, performed by troupes of male itinerant entertainers called *namsadangpae*. Today, however, *bonsandae-nori* is no longer performed.

Namsadangpae troupes travelled around the country with a repertoire of six performances: *pungmulnori* (farmer's percussion music, or *nongak*), *beona* (saucer spinning), *salpan* (acrobatics), *eoreum* (tightrope walking, or *jultagi*), *doetboegi* (masked dance-drama), and *deolmi* (puppet theater). Puppet plays were not only performed by these itinerant troupes, but also by the villagers of locales such as Jangyeon in Hwanghae-do Province and Seosan in Chungcheongnam-do Province. Puppet plays were probably transmitted to these regions by members of the *namsadangpae* who ended up settling down there.



As the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum has been handed down with no set script, it is highly changeable according to time and place of performance and the actors involved. Comparison of recordings of the performances shows great differences in the composition of acts in the play, the characters that appear, and the lines that they speak. Each puppet play is composed of several acts. Each act is a separate story that has no connection to the contents of other acts. However, the character named Park Cheomji keeps appearing in all the acts, serving as a kind of commentator and in this way linking one scene to the next. Hence, the puppet play genre is often seen as revolving around the Park Cheomji character. Indeed, the performers often call their art Parkcheomji nori, a performance based on Park Cheomji. The presence of Park Cheomji as the protagonist gives puppet plays coherence and unity. Another role equally important to the dramatic development of the play is the *sanbaji*. The *sanbaji* is one of the musicians who exchanges conversation with the puppets. While being one of the characters in the play, the *sanbaji* is also like a member of the audience and thus serves to remove the conceptual barrier between the stage and the audience. The *sanbaji*



Seonbi's mask (Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori) | Hahoe Village, Andong | 2001 | National Folk Museum of Korea

throws questions at the puppet characters or urges them to take certain actions and leads toward explanations of the development or the meaning of incidents. By mediating between separate scenes, he provides supplementary facts that are not given on stage.

The stage for puppet plays today is made by putting up posts in the four corners of a three-meter square area and making the front of the stage facing the audience 1.2 meters high. All four sides are covered with cloth, leaving a stage about 2.5 m wide and 70 cm deep. In the past, however, the stage was traditionally made to rise high in the air, often built above an attic space or composed of two stories.

Mudang gut nori refers to the dramatic part of a rite (*gut*) performed by a shaman (*mudang*). It is also simply called *gut nori* or *huigongmu* (lit. dramatic dance) or *mugeuk* (Kor. 무극, Chin. 巫劇, lit. shaman drama). In a big rite composed of several acts or separate smaller rites (*geori*), the basic proceedings are followed at the end by a celebratory performance called *dwitjeonpuri*. This is when the sundry spirits that have gathered are fed well and sent on their way. It



Yangban act (Suyeong Yaryu) | Suyeong-gu, Busan | 1994 | National Folk Museum of Korea

is also held for the purpose of providing fun and entertainment for the audience. As the demand for the entertaining aspect grew over time, the shamanic magical aspect weakened and *gut nori* was performed on the basis of fun and excitement. In many varieties of regional shaman rites—*ipchungut*, *segyeongnori*, *yeonggamnori* in Jeju-do, *sonorigut* in Gyeonggi-do Province, and *jesugut bangnori* in Pyeongan-do Province—one part of the rite took the form of drama (*nori*), with separate characters, sometimes played wearing masks. However, masks are not worn in most shaman dramatic performances. To convey the personality of a certain character, headgear and costume are used. Male shamans commonly wear a towel on the head and a skirt to portray a woman. Great attention is devoted to realistically presenting the protagonist while the person playing the counter role may be called out of the audience, when necessary, or the shaman playing the main role will actually play both roles. The protagonist also serves as commentator and explains what is going on between the characters by asking and answering his or her own questions. The presence of a commentator can be seen as a feature of narrative but the fact that the commentator is not an objective third person but one of the protagonists means that the performance is drama, regardless of the narrative aspect. That is, in *mugeuk*, the shaman in the guise of an actor performs dramatic acts using speech, the lines spoken rich in content. However, as *mugeuk* is only performed as part of a shaman rite it does not fulfill the condition of being an independent performance but is counted as folk drama in that it is a form of drama handed down through ordinary people.

Jindo Dasiraegi, which was performed by the local shaman at a house of mourning, or *sangga* (Kor. 상가, Chin. 喪家, lit. funeral house), as part of the funeral rites on Jindo Island in Jeollanam-do Province, is a form of masked dance-drama combining song and dance called *gamugeuk* (Kor. 가무극, Chin. 歌舞劇, lit. song, dance and drama) that was performed to console mourners. The custom of singing and dancing at funerals, handed down since the Three Kingdoms period, continued through the Joseon Dynasty. Compared to the rather simple performances at funeral rites in other regions, Jindo Dasiraegi was structured in the form of drama. The empty bier carrying performance (*binsangyeonori*) or mock bier carrying performance (*gasangyeonori*) are funeral performances that were held around the country. In Hamgyeong-do Province, when someone had died peacefully of natural causes (Kor. 호상, Chin. 好喪, lit. good death), the empty bier carrying performance was held on the night before or morning of burial and was called *daenori*. The song sung on the occasion was “Yeongcheong Do-

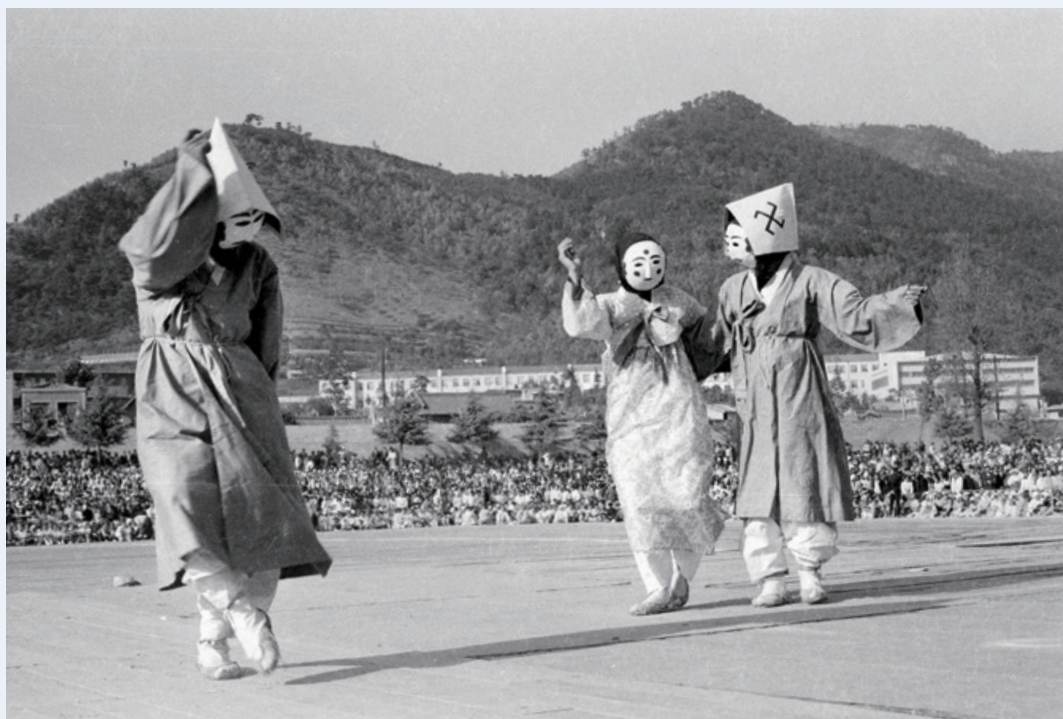
dum.” In Pyeonganbuk-do Province the bier (*sangyeo*) was called *saeu*, and the bier carrying performance *saeudodum*. In South Korea the bier carrying song was commonly called “Daesori.” In Gyeongsang-do Province, the empty bier carrying performance is called *daedodum*, and the song that is sung “Daedodumsori.”

Jindo Dasiraegi has been handed down through Sincheong (Kor. 신청, Chin. 神廳, lit. god office) an organization of the husbands of shamans called *mubu* (Kor. 무부, Chin. 巫夫, lit. shaman husband) from the households of local hereditary shamans (*dangol*). It is a form of comic drama (Kor. 소극, Chin. 笑劇, lit. laughing drama) that was performed to console the chief mourner and bereaved descendants, and took place at the house of mourning where food was served. As it was handed down by the husbands of shamans it can be regarded as a form of *gut nori*, or drama performed by shamans.

Baltal is a form of theater performed with masks worn on the feet. It is not known when it first began. Before the end of the Korean Empire period it was performed by *namsadangpae*, or troupes of male itinerant entertainers, and was taken up by the Gwangmudae Theater in Seoul, makeshift theaters in tents, and



Bongsan Talchum | Busan Gudeok Stadium, Busan | 1967 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Tongyeong Ogwangdae | Busan Gudeok Stadium, Busan | 1967 | National Folk Museum of Korea

changgeuk (traditional opera). The *baltal* theater is a box covered with black cloth on three sides, about two meters wide and one meter deep, with the back side left open. The performer hid inside the box, sitting on a chair. In the center front was an opening where the performer stuck out his feet. A mask was placed on the foot, the arms were made with bamboo and opened wide, and an upper garment such as woman's jacket (*jeogori*) or men's jacket (*magoja*) was placed on top to create a crude human figure.

Baltal performed today is based on two main techniques: placing the mask on the soles of the feet and maneuvering the puppet with the ankles or using the arms to move bamboo rods attached to the masked puppet. Strings are tied to the hands of the puppet and these are connected to bamboo rods. As in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum, a jester called *sinbaji* stands outside the stage and engages with the puppet, making jokes, singing and dancing. Musicians flank the stage in a traditional wind and string ensemble that includes the flute (*piri*), bamboo transverse flute (*jeotdae*), two-stringed fiddle (*haegeum*), barrel drum

(*buk*), hourglass-shaped drum (*janggu*), and small gong (*kkwaenggwari*). The cast includes only three characters. The protagonist is a low-born fishmonger. The supporting roles are the clown, or jester, *sinbaji* and a woman who briefly appears.

The script is characterized by talk about catching and eating, jokes deliberating the fish (*jogi*, croaker), and talk about taking medicine. The foot puppet character shows off by saying that he can catch and eat anything, like a starfish, saying, “I catch and eat minnows, clams, sharpbelly, pigeons, and digging frogs. I also catch horses, pigs, chickens, and white grubs, I’ll even cut off and eat your testicles.” With witty remarks the fishmonger counts his croakers (*jogi*) and talks about taking medicine, saying, “the bear’s gallbladder, roe buck, deer, *baek-guyeongdan* [an elixir], and two testicles, one for you and one for me.” These lines contain content that cannot be found in any other traditional folk drama, and through jokes and witty remarks the audience is made to laugh. The puppeteer and the jester swear and exchange curses, but this too seems comic. On the other hand, considering the simplicity of the content there are many poetic songs interspersed throughout the performance.

Traditional puppet plays include Manseokjung nori and Yeongdeunghui. Manseokjung nori, or monk Manseok puppet play, which has been recently restored and revived, was originally performed on Buddha’s birthday on the eight day of the fourth lunar month. The puppets are controlled with the strings tied to them and the performance takes place without words, only musical accompaniment. The puppet characters include the monk Manseok, a roe buck, a deer, carp, and dragon. Yeongdeunghui is a form of shadow theater involving many animal characters made of paper, which are placed before lamplight to cast shadows.

There are various forms of folk drama in Korea including masked dance-drama, Kkokdugaksinoreum, *mugeuk*, *baltal*, Jindo Dasiraegi, *uhui*, Manseokjung nori, and *yeongdeunghui*. As comedies full of social satire, most presented a critical view of real issues brought about by social inequality. Through folk drama the ordinary people found temporary escape from the existing order and enjoyed a taste of freedom. By dealing openly with issues that were taboo in their real everyday lives, these dramas were an opportunity to give expression to and relieve their repressed conflicts and complaints.

The transmission of folk drama declined during the Japanese occupation period, when the colonizers tried to wipe out the native Korean culture, and through the confusion of national division following the Korean War. Then in

the 1960s, folk drama, particularly masked dance-drama, began to receive renewed attention. At the time, the government, in a move to establish the Korean national identity amidst modernization and Westernization, began the designation of intangible cultural properties in an attempt to preserve and restore Korea's cultural heritage.

Meanwhile, university students and other intellectuals with a critical outlook rediscovered the value of traditional masked dance-drama as they turned their attention to making a contribution to the development of a democratic society. This led to a movement to revive *talchum* amongst university students in the 1960s and 1970s. University students across the country studied masked dance-drama and held performances. Such performances were held often and the students were very passionate about what they were doing. But going into the 1980s, this fervor began to decline. Instead, *madanggeuk* (lit. yard theater, also called *madanggut*), a form of creative drama that is the basis of traditional folk drama, or political dramas that were considered "people's drama" (*minjokgeuk*) thrived as a way to criticize the government. *Madanggeuk*, which emerged at the beginning of the 1980s and gave a kind of cultural shock to the existing cultural milieu, can be seen as representing the ideological innovation of *minsokgeuk*, or folk drama. Though first called *madanggeuk*, it later came to be called *madanggut* and gradually came to be used in the same way as the term *minjokgeuk*. Then in December 1988, the Korean People's Theater Association was formed. *Madanggeuk* dealt with a wide range of subjects and issues in society, such as people's issues, labor issues and the urban poor, social issues, and current affairs in general, and the reinterpretation of historical facts. This clearly reflects the tendency for the folk drama movement to move in tandem with the social movements of the time.

On the other hand, professional theater troupes made moves to establish creative new works that were a modern succession of folk drama traditions such as masked dance-dramas, *pansori* (narrative song) and puppet theater. The major examples are Theater Minye, founded in 1973 by the director Heo Gyu, and Theater Michu, founded by Son Jinhaek. Theater Michu staged works such as "Heosaengjeon," "Nolbujeon," "Seoul Malttugi," "Dasiraegi." "Heosaenjeon" ("The Story of Heosaeng") incorporates the melodies, dance movements and stage entry and exit movements of masked dance-drama with the narration (*aniri*) of *pansori*. "Nolbujeon" ("The Story of Nolbu") is a *changgeuk* work that also incorporates the dance movements and stage entry and exit movements of masked

dance-drama. “Seoul Malttugi” is a modern masked dance-drama while “Dasir-ae-gi” is a work of folk drama derived from funeral customs.

In this context, folk drama is meaningful as source material for the creation of new modern Korean theater works. Currently a number of theater troupes have appeared that are creating new modern dramatic works using traditional folk drama, and some have garnered considerable success. These include the works of the National Changgeuk Company of Korea, the plays of Mokhwa Theater Company (led by Oh Taeseok), Yeonhuidan Georipae (led by Lee Yuntaek), Theater Group Ugeumchi (led by Ryu Gihyeong), and Mindeulle Theater Company (led by Song Inhyeon), the *madangnori* (traditional outdoor performance) of Minye Theater Company (led by Son Jinchaek), and the *minjokgeuk* works of the troupes belonging to the Korean People’s Theater Association. However, it is true that these endeavors still have a long way to go in terms of artistic perfection. The challenge remains as to how to use traditional theater as a creative resource for the development of more interesting modern Korean dramatic works of higher quality.



Gangneung Gwanjo Gamyeongeuk | Namdaecheon Stream, Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province | 1984 | National Folk Museum of Korea

Gamyeongeuk

가면극

Traditional masked dance-drama.

Traditional masked dance-drama where dramatic scenes are acted out by performers wearing the masks of human or animal characters.

Aside from *gamyeongeuk* (Kor. 가면극, Chin. 假面劇, lit. mask drama), this form of traditional masked dance-drama is also called *talchum* (Kor. 탈춤, lit. mask dance), *talnori* (Kor. 탈놀이, lit. mask play), and *talnoruem* (Kor. 탈놀음, lit. mask play). It also goes by different names such as *sandaenori*, *yaryu* (Kor. 야류, Chin. 野遊, lit. playing in the field), and *ogwangdae* (Kor. 오광대, lit. five clowns) according to region.

Korea's masked dance-drama is largely divided into two types: one is derived from village shaman rites, called *gut nori*, and the other from *bonsandaenori*.

Masked dance-drama derived from village rites

Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori is performed during the course of *byeolsingut*, a type of village shaman rite. Unfortunately, Hahoe Byeolsingut has not been performed since 1928. The *byeolsingut* is a large communal village rite that was generally performed once every ten years upon delivery of the oracle, or *sintak* (Kor. 신탁, Chin. 神託, lit. entrusted by god) of the village tutelary deity. In the village of Hahoe, rites are held regularly on the first full moon day of the lunar New Year (Jeongwol Daeboreum) and on the eighth day of the fifth lunar month, which is Buddha's birthday, while the *byeolsingut* was held on an irregular basis. The tutelary deity of Hahoe is believed to be a 17-year-old girl from the Uiseong Kim clan, or perhaps a young woman who was widowed at the age of 15 and was also the daughter-in-law of Samsin (Kor. 삼신, lit. three gods). Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori is composed of five main acts (*gwajang*): *jujichum* (Juji dance), *baekjeongnori* (lit. butcher's play), *halminori* (lit. old woman's play), *pagye-seungnori* (lit. apostate monk's play) and *yangban seonbinori* (lit. nobleman and scholar's play). In Hahoe Byeolsingut, the performers and villagers come down

the mountain after the village guardian deity descends on the village shrine (*seonangdang*). During the procession to the village, the performer wearing the mask of the bride (Gaksi), that is, the tutelary deity (*seonangsin*), dances while standing on the shoulders of another performer (*mudongchum*), which is considered to be the acting out of divine revelation. The tutelary deity of Hahoe is said to be a young woman who married a man living in the village but was widowed at the age of 15. Prior to the start of the show, the performer in the mask of the bride, or tutelary deity, would go around begging for grains (*geollip*) standing on the shoulders of another performer. The appearance of the masked bride in Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori indicates that this traditional masked dance-drama has its roots in the more fundamental village shaman rites.

The first act, *jujichum*, is the lion's dance. Performed by two lions (Juji), it is a ritual dance to exorcise demons and all things evil and to purify the performance space. In *baekjeongnori*, the butcher (Baekjeong) slaughters a bull and removes its heart and testicles, and then speaking to the audience he begins to lampoon the *yangban* (nobility, ruling class) with scathing words and witticisms. In *halmi-nori*, an old woman (Halmi) wearing a gourd at her waist and a white towel on her head pretends to weave as she sings "Baeteulga" ("The Song of the Loom") and laments her fate. She then starts dancing and goes begging, holding out her gourd. This act depicts the sufferings of women and the joys and sorrows of life, and also reflects a strong critical awareness of patriarchal authority. In *pagye-seungnori*, the apostate monk (Pagyeseung) is unable to control his sexual desire as he furtively watches Bune urinate. He takes up a handful of earth from the spot where Bune urinated and gets excited as he smells it. The monk and Bune are dancing together when they are caught by Chonari, servant to the nobleman, so the monk runs away with her, carrying her piggyback. In the Yangban and Seonbi act, the nobleman and the scholar fight over Bune, who is a *gisaeng* (entertainer), as they show off their learning. In the process, the class of scholar-officials (*sadaebu*) the government title of prime minister, and the Four Books and Five Classics of Confucianism are degraded and made to look ridiculous. The servants Chonari and Imae turn the noblemen's learning into the object of ridicule. The butcher appears holding the bull's testicles, claiming that they are good for male energy. The nobleman and scholar pull at it as they fight over who is going to buy it, when the butcher complains that they will rip the testicles apart. Then the old woman enters the scene again and criticizes them. Imae, who is serving as a secret government agent called *byeolchae* (Kor. 별채, Chin. 別差, lit.

separate commission), shouts at them to pay their taxes, which startles everyone and makes them flee. This part is a satire of the corruption of local government officials who extorted grains from the village residents.

Gangneung Gwanno Gamyengeuk, as the name indicates, is a form of masked dance-drama originally performed as part of the Gangneung Dano festival held on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month by *gwanno* (Kor. 관노, Chin. 官奴, lit. government slave), slaves who were attached to the local government office. In the old days, a large ritual flag decorated with cloth of various colors was set up in the yard in front of the shrine of the village tutelary deity and *gamyengeuk* was performed there from the first day of the fifth lunar month until Dano day on the fifth day. Gangneung Gwanno Gamyengeuk consists of four acts: the dance of Jangjamari, the dance of Yangban Gwangdae (masked nobleman) and Somae Gaksi, the Sisittaktagi dance, and the suicide and revival of Somae Gaksi. It is the only Korean masked dance-drama to be performed entirely in mime. Also, unlike other masked dance-dramas in which each act functions as an independent performance, each act of Gangneung Gwanno Gamyengeuk is closely intertwined with the others. That is, it is a performance based on the narrative of the Yangban (nobleman) and the young woman Somae Gaksi.

The first act, the dance of Jangjamari, is a ritual dance to exorcise evil spirits performed by two characters named Jangjamari. Their dance is called the “yard cleaning” (*madangdakgi*) dance and is performed to purify the space for the drama. Hanging off their sack-like costumes are ears of grain and seaweed, while their fat bellies signify pregnancy. Through their movements they simulate copulation. Hence, the Jangjamari dance reflects the nature of the Dano festival, which is essentially a village rite to pray for an abundant harvest and catch of fish. In the dance of Yangban Gwangdae and Somae Gaksi, the young woman succumbs to the masked nobleman and the two fondly play together. The Jangjamari dance follows with the character called Sisittaktagi entering the scene to interfere with the couple and cause a rift between them. In the fourth act Somae Gaksi kills herself and then comes back to life. The Yangban chases Sisittaktagi away and scolds Somae Gaksi for flirting with him. The woman denies this and begs to be forgiven. But as the Yangban remains angry with her, Somae Gaksi winds the hair of his beard around her neck and kills herself. When the two Jangjamari and two Sisittaktagi confirm that she is dead they bring the spirit pole that is the physical manifestation of the village god, *seonghwangsinmok* (Kor.

성황신목, Chin. 城隍神木, lit. divine tree of the village god), also called *seonangdae*, and pray for her. As a result, Somae Gaksi comes back to life.

As can be seen in the above, the contents and characters appearing in Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori and Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk are different to those of masked dance-dramas of other regions. This is because both performances emerged naturally out of village rites. But such masked dance-dramas based on village rites were partially influenced by the *bonsandaenori* type of masked dance-drama, as seen in the act of the apostate monk and the mockery of Confucianism and Confucian scholars in Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori, and the name of the character Somae Gaksi in Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk.

Masked dance-drama derived from *bonsandaenori*

Among the masked dance-dramas that have been handed down in the suburbs of Seoul and can be categorized as *bonsandaenori* are those from Aeogae (Ahyeon), Sajikgol, Noryangjin, and Gupabal. Under the influence of *bonsandaenori*, various regional masked dance-dramas were created: Songpa Sandaenori, Yangju Byeolsandaenori, and Toegyewon Sandaenori, which are performed in Seoul and Gyeonggi-do Province; Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, and Eunyul Talchum in Hwanghae-do Province; Suyeong Yaryu, Dongnae Yaryu, Tongyeong Ogwangdae, Goseong Ogwangdae, Gasan Ogwangdae, Jinju Ogwangdae in Gyeongsangnam-do Province; and *deotboegi* performed by troupes of male itinerant entertainers called *namsadangpae*. Today, however, *bonsandaenori* is no longer performed. Songpa Sandaenori and Yangju Byeolsandaenori came into being in the early to mid-19th century under the influence of *bonsandaenori* performed in Seoul.

Masked dance-dramas performed in Hwanghae-do Province are called Haeseo (Kor. 해서, Chin. 海西, lit. west sea) Talchum. Up until the 1930s, Haeseo Talchum was still handed down mostly in Bongsan and Sariwon, Hwanghae-do Province, and in Girin, Seoheung, Pyeongsan, Singye, Geumcheon, and Suan, located to the east of this region; in Hwangju to the north; in Anak, Eunyul, Jaeryeong, Sincheon, and Songhwa to the west; and in Gangnyeong, Ongjin, Yeonbaek, and Haeju to the south. Almost all marketplaces in Hwanghae-do Province, where a market was held once every five days, invited a troupe to perform *gamyongeuk* once a year. The relationship between *sandaenori* and Haeseo Talchum was revealed by Kim Ilchul, a scholar of North Korean studies who carried out on-site research in Hwanghae-do. Haeju, as the political, economic,



Reunion of Park Cheomji and his first wife (Seosan Parkcheomji nori)
National Folk Museum of Korea

and cultural center of the province, had many singers and dancers who belonged to the *gyobang*, an institute where song and dance were taught, affiliated with the Haeju provincial office. Haeju Talchum was spread largely through low-ranking local officials belonging to Tongincheong (local government office) and idle noblemen. Kim Ilchul also added, “As acknowledged by those involved, Haeju Talnori has maintained exchange with *sandaenori* performed in the Gyeonggi-do region and it is undeniable that *sandaenori* has influenced various aspects of Haeju Talnori.”

In Gyeongsangnam-do Province, masked dance-dramas that have been handed down in the region east of the Nakdonggang River are called *yaryu* (Kor. 야류, Chin. 野遊, lit. playing in the field), whereas those that have been transmitted in the region west of the river are referred to as *ogwangdae* (Kor. 오광대, Chin. 五廣大, lit. five clowns). In the 1930s, the Korean folklorist Song Seokha conducted a field study to discover the transmission route of both *yaryu* and *ogwangdae*. It has been passed down orally that *yaryu* and *ogwangdae* originated in Bamma-ri on the Nakdonggang River (Yulji-ri, Deokgok-myeon, Hapcheon in Gyeongsangnam-do Province). At the market held in Bamma-ri, a troupe of professional itinerant entertainers named *daegwangdaepae* staged masked dance-dramas as part of their repertoire. Jinju Ogwangdae, however, was derived from masked dance-dramas performed around 1880 by the *daegwangdaepae* troupe active in Sinban-ri, Burim-myeon, Uiryeong in Gyeongsangnam-do Province. Also known as *deulnorem* (Kor. 들놀음, lit. playing in the field), *yaryu* has been handed down in the areas of Dongnae, Suyeong, and Busanjin in the southern Gyeongsang region. *Ogwangdae* was so-named because it is a masked dance-drama performed by five entertainers collectively called *ogwang* or consists of five acts.

During the latter half of the Joseon period, servants called *banin*, who belonged to Seonggyungwan, the national Confucian academy of Joseon, performed *bonsandaenori* in Seoul. In particular, *bonsandaenori* troupes from Aeogae and Sajikgol often toured regional centers and this had an impact on the formation of local masked dance-dramas. In those days, troupes of itinerant entertainers such as *namsadangpae* and *daegwangdaepae* travelled throughout the country staging a wide range of performances, and it seems they included *bonsandaenori* in their repertoires to boost the commercial success of their shows.

Haeseo Talchum, *byeolsandaenori*, *yaryu*, and *ogwangdae*, all derived from *bonsandaenori*, have common characteristics in the composition of acts and

content, characters, form of dialogue, theatrical form, and types of masks worn, which show that they are all the same kind of masked dance-drama. The details are as follows.

First, all masked dance-dramas derived from *bonsandaenori* have common contents, including ritual dance to expel evil (Kor. 벽사, Chin. 辟邪, lit. dispel demons) and acts devoted to the nobleman, the apostate monk, and the old man and old woman.

Second, the names of the characters such as Yangban (nobleman), Saennim (feeble scholar), Yeonggam (old man), Halmi (old woman), Sangjiwa (novice monk), Nojang (old monk), and Meokjung (lit. “black monk,” referring to depraved monks) are names that indicate social rank or position, or the group of people they belong to. The Yangban’s servant is always named Malttugi. In *byeolsandaenori* and Haeseo Talchum, the drunken monk who fights with the old monk over the young woman Somae is always named Chwibari.

Third, the first act in the *byeolsandaenori* category of masked dance-dramas features ritual dance to expel evil such as the dance of the novice monk (*sangjwachum*), the dance of the heavenly guardians of the five directions (*obangsinjangmu*), and the lion’s dance (*sajachum*).

Fourth, the Yangban act consists of repeated episodes. The early part always features *nojanggi* (Kor. 노장기, Chin. 路程記, lit. record of a journey on the road), the travelogue of Malttugi, who gives a long list of place names and explains how he visited them all in search of the Yangban. While Malttugi is in a subservient position to the Yangban, he actually discloses all the Yangban’s faults and satirizes his hypocrisy. Through letters and literature, considered the reserve of the *yangban* class, he mocks the whole nobility. The Yangban masks are all abnormal in some way with a harelip, pockmarks or a twisted face.

Fifth, the Nojang act featuring the old monk accounts for a large proportion of *byeolsandaenori* and Haeseo Talchum. All performances in these categories have exactly the same contents with numerous characters, which all have the same names: Nojang (old monk), Meokjung (depraved monk), Somu (or Somae, the concubine), Chwibari (drunken monk), Sinjangsu (shoe seller), and Wonsungi (monkey).

Sixth, in the Yeonggam and Halmi act, Yeonggam (old man) and Halmi (old woman) fight because of Yeonggam’s concubine. Halmi is generally depicted as a shaman, and when she dies a shaman rite is held or a bier is brought out as the performers sing a dirge called “Sangyeotsori,” or the “Bier Bearers’ Song.”

Seventh, common features are often seen in the masks for *bonsandaenori* performances. For example, the mask for the drunken man Chwibari is the same in all *byeolsandaenori* and Haeseo Talchum performances today, as well as the Chwibari mask from Yangju Byeolsandaenori dating to 1929 and another from Toegye-won Sandaenori dating to the Japanese occupation period (1910-1945). That all Chwibari masks are similar in appearance despite differences according to region—Seoul and Gyeonggi-do Province in the central part of the Korean peninsula and Hwanghae-do Province in the north—and according to time from the 1920s and the 2000s, means that a set form for the Chwibari mask had already been established before the abovementioned examples were made. Likewise, the masks for other characters such as Yeonggam, the old man; Saennim, the feeble scholar; Jonggat Doryeong, the young unmarried nobleman; Sangjwa, the novice monk; Somu, the young lady; and Cheop, the concubine show slight differences according to place and time but are similar in appearance.

Masked dance-dramas derived from *bonsandaenori* have common contents, but unique acts are sometimes added in different regions. Some examples are the acts featuring Yeonnip (monk wearing a lotus leaf mask) and Nunkkeumjeogi (blinking man) in *byeolsandaenori*, and the lion's dance (*sajachum*), Yeongno (Bibi) act featuring a mythical beast, and the leper's dance (*mundungichum*) in Haeseo



Manjangkkun (who sings an elegy at the head of a funeral procession) | National Folk Museum of Korea

Talchum. This is the result of new contents being added in certain regions as *bonsandaenori* spread around the country. According to folklorist Kim Incheol's research, the lion's dance in Bongsan Talchum was first performed around 1913-1915.

Meanwhile, many parts of *bonsandaenori* masked dance-dramas are independent comedic acts called *uhui* (Kor. 우희, Chin. 優戲, lit. excellent drama). Many factors would have influenced the development of *bonsandaenori* and the composition of the dialogue and depiction of the Yangban in the Yangban act reflect the direct influence of *uhui* and *yuhui* (Kor. 유희, Chin. 儒戲, lit. Confucian drama). *Uhui* is comic in content and much like a modern comedy skit.

Yuhui, a form of *uhui*, is Confucian-themed comedy that makes fun of Confucian scholars, Confucian classics, and Confucianism itself. Both forms of comic drama already contained elements of satire of the ruling *yangban* class and hence the content was naturally reflected in the Yangban act of masked dance-dramas. As the Yangban act is found in all masked dance-dramas across the country it accounts for a very large portion of the total time and contents of *bonsandaenori* masked dance-dramas. Indeed, ridicule of the *yangban* class and Confucian scholars makes up much of the content of masked dance-dramas overall, and a mockery is made of the Confucian-based *yangban* culture, including Confucianism's five moral disciplines in human relationships, the classics, and letters and literature. Most of the Yangban masks are rather ugly and the clothing is abnormal in many cases, and that alone is enough to make the Yangban a figure of fun. Therefore, the Yangban act is very similar in style and content to *uhui* and *yuhui*. Aside from the Yangban act, the comic content and witty repartee between Meokjung and Chwibari in the Nojang act, and between the old man and woman in the Yeonggam and Halmi act is related to *uhui* tradition to some extent. This results from the fact that the performers mobilized by Narye Dogam, the court office in charge of exorcism rites, were already well-versed in comic drama, and in the first half of the 18th century, when *bonsandaenori* was established, those performers actively made use of the contents of *uhui*.

The Yangban's privileged position, Nojang's fallacies, and Yeonggam's masculine tyranny are all closely interrelated as legacies of Korea's feudal society. Through the themes of masked dance-dramas that assert that these remains must be wiped out, we get a glimpse of the consciousness of development toward a new society. The positive characters such as Chwibari, Podobujang (young policeman), Malttugi and Halmi reflect the awareness of the common people

who reject the existing social order and demand new values.

Most masked dance-dramas were performed as a seasonal custom and part of the festivities on Jeongwol Daeborum, the first full moon day of the lunar year, or the spring Dano festival. On these occasions, in addition to *gamyongeuk* a range of other folk games and entertainments were performed, including *jultagi* (tightrope walking), *chajeonori* (battle between two teams using two “chariots”), *hwaetbulssaum* (torch battle), *jisinbabgi* (rite of “treading on the earth gods”), and *ssireum* (traditional wrestling). Jeongwol Daeboreum and Dano were thus special occasions that promoted solidarity and harmony among the local residents. In many regions, folk games and entertainments were attached to masked dance-dramas, taking place either before or after the performance. The masked performances were an opportunity for the ordinary people to openly deal with issues that were taboo in their real, everyday lives and give expression to and relieve their repressed conflicts and complaints. With the performance of masked dance-dramas on set seasonal occasions each year, the ordinary people found temporary release from the existing social order and reveled in independence for a while.

During the 1960s and 1970s there was a great boom in *talchum* among university students across the country who studied and mastered masked dance-drama and held performances. Such performances were held often and the students were passionate about what they were doing. But going into the 1980s this fervor began to cool. Instead, *madanggeuk* (lit. yard theater, also called *madanggut*), a form of creative drama that is the basis of traditional folk drama, or political dramas that were considered “people’s drama” (*minjokgeuk*), thrived as a way to criticize the establishment.

Sandaenori

산대놀이

Masked dance-drama originating in Seoul.

A type of masked dance-drama that has been passed down in Seoul and its suburbs.

Etymologically, the name *sandaenori* is derived from an outdoor makeshift stage called *sandae* (Kor. 산대, Chin. 山臺, lit. mountain platform) and from the music and dance that were performed on that stage, which began to be built in the Goryeo period. As the practice of building *sandae* was abolished in the latter half of the Joseon Dynasty, only *talnori* (masked dance-drama) spread among the ordinary people and was performed in the form of *bonsandae* in Seoul and later spread to the neighboring areas of Seoul.

Sandae refers to a huge makeshift stage that had already begun to be built from the early Goryeo period. This stage was built at varied times of the year. During the Goryeo Dynasty it was generally built when Palgwanhoe (Kor. 팔관회, lit. Festival of the Eight Vows), Yeondeunghoe (Kor. 연등회, lit. Lotus Lantern Festival), *narye* (royal court exorcism rites), and other events were held at temples and government offices. *Sandae* was also built during the Joseon period for receptions for Chinese envoys, year-end *narye*, royal events, national celebrations and feasts. The stage was huge in size. It had main pillars over 25 meters high and was about the size of four seven-story apartments. As it was not reusable, the stage had to be built again every year. Difficulties thus arose in mobilizing the workforce, securing lumber, and preparing various materials to build the stage, and problems such as excessive costs, accidents, and other matters ensued.

Performances held on the stage included various royal court dances and entertainments such as *heonseondo* (Kor. 헌선도, Chin. 獻仙桃, lit. dedication of a Taoist peach), Cheoyongmu (Kor. 처용무, lit. dance of Cheoyong¹), *sottaejaengnori* (Kor. 솟대쟁이놀이, feats performed on a high pole), fireworks, and shaman ritual dances to expel ghosts. They also encompassed various kinds of music and dance, such as *hwahui* (Kor. 화희, Chin. 火戲, lit. fire play), *gyobanggayo* (Kor. 교

방가요, dances and songs to welcome the king on the street), miscellaneous entertainments called *japhui*, a magic show called *hwansul* (Kor. 환술, Chin. 幻術, lit. fantasy tricks), and impromptu dramas. The *sandae* stage was depicted in an album of paintings titled *Fengshitu* (Kor. 봉사도, Chin. 奉使圖, lit. Paintings of an Envoy) by Akdun² (Kor. 아극돈, Chin. 阿克敦) in 1725 (first year of King Yeongjo's reign). One of the paintings in the album shows that *talnori* was performed on the ground. In other words, masked dances, acrobatic feats, and tightrope walking were performed on the ground, while various dances, songs, and plays were presented on the stage. As Sandae Dogam, the government office in charge of *sandae*³ performances, was abolished during King Injo's reign, the practice of building *sandae* began to peter out. It was then completely abolished during King Yeongjo's reign, and the troupes of professional entertainers moved their performances from the court to civilian life.

The *sandae* was built during the Joseon period as well, when a variety of performances were conducted on the stage. Among the performances of clowns, professional female entertainers called *ginyeo* (or *gisaeng*), and musicians who participated in *sandae* performances, however, only those of professional entertainers who performed masked dance-dramas were adopted and developed into *sandaenori* in the Seoul region. This was eventually established in the current form of *sandae gamyeonggeuk* (masked dance-drama) and has been handed down as *bonsandae* in Seoul, performed mostly as Aeogae (Ahyeon) Sandae, Nokbeon Sandae, Sajikdong Ttakttagipae, Hongjedong Sandae, Gupabal Sandae, and Noryangjin Sandae. The performances of such professional entertainers could gain popularity when they offered a large repertoire, so these troupes of *bonsandae* performers added tightrope walking, *pungmul* (Kor. 풍물, farmer's percussion music), *mudongtagi* (Kor. 무동타기, child dancing on the shoulders of another performer), and acrobatics. As the masked dance-drama was the most popular of the performances, it was considered the key performance of *bonsandae* troupes. However, *bonsandaenori* was discontinued in the early 20th century, and only *sandaenori*, developed under the influence of *bonsandaenori*, is still extant in Yangju, Songpa, and Toegyewon today.

Yangju Byeolsandaenori was developed and established by local residents of Yangju some 200 years ago under the influence of *sandae* performed in Aeogae, Nokbeon, and Gupabal among the *bonsandaenori* performed in Seoul. It was handed down by low-ranking officials and servants who belonged to the town office of Yangju-mok. Here, merchants were also involved and some shaman

families took the lead in passing down the masked dance-drama. These petty officials, servants and merchants established a cooperative union called *dojung* (Kor. 도중, Chin. 都中, lit. union of members), which managed the performance of *sandaenori*. As such, the owners of performance spaces where *sandaenori* was held received money from street vendors in return for permission to do business near the stage.

Songpa Sandaenori was handed down at Songpa market, which was one of the 15 largest local markets in the country. This market prospered with the development of a market economy and the distribution of new products after the 18th century. Located at a port on the Gyeonggang River, commerce thrived and commission agents dominated the commercial area. This sprawling private market was once more prosperous than the government-run market in Seoul. Therefore, as merchants hoarded commodities at Songpa market, which was a large-scale collection and distribution center, merchants from the government-run market even suggested that this market be closed down.

The core groups passing down Songpa Sandaenori in the market before 1900 included *malgamgo* (Kor. 말감고, a person who measured grains by the traditional unit *mal*), *imbangkkun* (Kor. 임방꾼, stevedores), messengers and errand boys, tavern owners, shipping agents (who stored cargo on the floor), sailors, tobacco processing merchants, firewood and charcoal sellers, and cattle dealers. Most of these people had jobs related to *jangsi*⁴ (Kor. 장시, Chin. 場市, open market) and some were engaged in farming as well.

Toegyewon was a hub of overland and water transportation, and also a place of strategic importance for entering Hanyang (today's Seoul), the capital of Joseon, from the east of Gyeonggi-do Province. As such, supplies for Hanyang, including charcoal, firewood, building materials, grains, vegetables, and tobacco, passed through Toegyewon. In the past, some 100 *gaekju* (Kor. 객주, guest house for traveling peddlers and merchants) and *yeogwon* (Kor. 역원, state-run inn built at postal stations) were located along Wangsukcheon Stream, and the marketplace was crowded with tobacco processing merchants, firewood sellers, and cattle dealers. Toegyewon Sandaenori was handed down at the local market. From the above-mentioned aspects, the extant Yangju Byeolsandaenori has the character of a masked dance-drama led by the local government office, while Songpa Sandaenori and Toegyewon Sandaenori are masked dance-dramas that were traditionally performed mostly at local markets.

In general, the major occasions for performance of *sandaenori* in the three

regions were Dano (Kor. 단오), the spring festival on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month, Buddha's birthday on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, and Baekjung (Kor. 백중, summer festival to celebrate one hundred fruit and vegetable seeds) on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month. In the first half of the 20th century, Yangju Byeolsandaenori was performed primarily on Dano, followed by Buddha's birthday, and at times on other occasions, such as Samjinnal (Kor. 삼짚날, third day of the third lunar month), Jungyangjeol (Kor. 중양절, lit. double ninth festival, on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month), other celebratory occasions, rites for rain, and when performers from other regions were invited. The days Songpa Sandaenori was performed were related to the growth of Songpa market. This *sandaenori* was performed about three to four times a year on holidays or on other days when the market was slow, such as the beginning of January, Buddha's birthday in the fourth lunar month, Dano in the fifth lunar month, Baekjung in the seventh lunar month, and Chuseok (Kor. 추석, harvest moon festival) on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month. The largest performance was held at Baekjung when the show continued for seven to ten days in a row at the marketplace. As the Songpa market greatly prospered around Baekjung, well-known performers were invited from every part of the country to put on masked dance-dramas for a whole week. When the market slackened, merchants raised money to host performances such as tightrope walking, *ssireum* (Kor. 씨름, Korean wrestling), traditional folk songs, and *sandaenori*. However, when the great flood of the Hangang River in 1925 (Eulchuk year) devastated the Songpa market, *sandaenori* performances came to a stop.

Toegyewon Sandaenori, a type of *byeolsandae*, was performed mostly at Daeboreum (first full moon day of the lunar new year), Buddha's birthday, Dano, Baekjung, and Chuseok, and during the agricultural off-season in spring. The main stage was a sandy beach along Wangsukcheon Stream in Yangju. During the spring off-season and on Buddha's birthday, merchants such as tobacco sellers and restaurant owners paid money to invite singers such as Park Chunjae, Song Mangap, and Yi Dongbaek to perform. At Baekjung or Chuseok, a *ssireum* contest was held with a calf offered for the grand prize, and people enjoyed *sandaenori* all night, tightrope walking, and *namsadangnori* (performance by troupes of male itinerant entertainers called *namsadangpae*). However, when the government banned tobacco sales in the first half of the 1920s, the economy in Toegye-won sharply declined. As a consequence, it was difficult to receive financial support for *sandaenori* performances, which began to die out in the late 1920s.

To sum up, Yangju Byeolsandaenori was performed primarily at Dano followed by Buddha's birthday and Baekjung, while Songpa Sandaenori was primarily performed at Baekjung, followed by Dano. Toegyewon Sandaenori was performed mainly on Buddha's birthday and at Baekjung, followed by Dano. Therefore, we can see that performance of the three types of *sandaenori* from different regions overlapped at Dano, Baekjung, and on Buddha's birthday. The importance of Baekjung in the performance of Songpa Sandaenori and Toegyewon Sandaenori is related to the fact that the two areas were essential markets in the suburbs of Seoul.

When it comes to the performance space of *sandaenori*, Yangju Byeolsandaenori was originally performed at Sajikdan (Kor. 사직단, Chin. 社稷壇, lit. altar for the gods of the earth and grains), located in Sajikgol at the foot of Mt. Bulgoksan. Later, *sandaenori* was performed in various places, including clearings in the pine forest behind the village, the gentle mountain slope around Bangseon falls behind the current performing stage, the courtyard inside the outer gate to *hyanggyo* (Kor. 향교, Chin. 鄉校, lit. village school), the pine grove on the hill east of the former training center for masked dance-drama, the walnut tree hill in front of the village, and the performance space across the bridge called Seunghakgyo Bridge in Yangju. After the designation of Yangju Byeolsandaenori as Intangible Cultural Heritage, a performing stage was completed in the front yard of the training center in 1985 by covering the yard with lawn and making tiers of seats in the open oval space. The present large-scale amphitheater was completed in 2007.

The performance space for Songpa Sandaenori was centered on Songpa market. In the past, Songpa marketplace was located south of the current Seokchon Lake in Jamsil-dong and Sincheon-dong, which was an area consisting of large islands. Masked dance-dramas were also performed at the Baegaemi marketplace in Yongin, on the river bed in Jangji-ri (currently Jangji-dong), at the Seojangdae command post of Namhansanseong Fortress, in the exterior courtyard of Bongeunsa Temple, and at the Japanese temple in Dolma-ri (or Seokchon-ri). However, when the great flood of 1925 swept away Songpa market and the villages near Samjeon-dong, the market disappeared and was not able to be revived. Accordingly, Songpa Sandaenori also declined. Then, the masked dance-drama was restored in the 1960s, and it has since been handed down at the Seoul Norimadang located west of the current Seokchon Lake.

Sandaenori in general starts with the novice monk's dance act and ends with the Halmi (old woman) and Yeonggam (old man) act. The monks in *sandae-*



Gilnori (street procession, Songpa Sandaenori) | National Folk Museum of Korea

nori masked dance-dramas are specifically divided into Nojang (apostate old monk), Omjung (apostate monk with scabies), Meokjung (depraved monk), and Sangjwa (novice monk), and monk-related episodes make up a large portion of the performance. *Sandaenori* also features distinctive characters, such as Soetteugi, the servant who reconciles with his fellow servant Maltteugi after a conflict, Yeonnip (monk wearing a lotus leaf mask), Nunkkeumjeogi (blinking monk), Waejangnyeo (tavern owner) and her daughter Aesadang.

Nojang is an old monk who has long followed the teachings of Buddha but apostasizes when he approaches a young woman called Somu. Chwibari is a radical character, an old bachelor who, flapping his yellow-dyed hair, takes the young woman Somu from Nojang and makes her give birth to his son. Although her death due to conflict with the concubine is similar to masked dance-dramas of other regions, in *sandaenori* Halmi is an old woman who shows relatively no deviant behavior, such as exposing her stomach, doing a bold bottom swaying dance, or urinating on the street.

Sandaenori has silent characters who perform with no lines, including Nojang, Aesadang, Somu, Yeonnip, and Nunkkeumjeogi. Nojang's silence highlights the dual life of a Buddhist monk who leads a depraved life. On the other hand, Aesadang and Somu perform without any lines to give the audience a hint of their passive lives with restrictions imposed on them in reality, despite their confidence in external appearance and coquettish behavior. The monks Yeonnip and Nunkkeumjeogi are silent to emphasize their mysterious character.

The themes and aesthetic sense of *sandaenori* can be found in its structure of conflict and reconciliation. Seen from this perspective, its core messages lie in the reversed status and deviant behavior of the ruling characters who go against the restrictions of reality, realistic representation of tragic daily experiences, realization of a desirable life, resolution of extreme conflict, and pursuit of temporary reconciliation, and collective exhilaration in the performance.

Above all, the ideals expressed in *sandaenori* are a much freer and abundant life by overcoming the limitations of realities and the structure of suppression. Saennim's authoritarian status and the dual world of Nojang's Buddhist beliefs and instincts are far removed from the ideals of real life. As such, the servants Soettugi and Malttugi degrade Saennim's ruling class status and Meokjung and Chwibari drag down Nojang from religious monk to secular being. In other words, *sandaenori* shows the reversal or deviation of ordinary life in a non-routine temporal space. Tragic daily experiences are also realistically represented

in the masked dance-drama. The old man's violence against Miyalhami due to gender-based discrimination under the patriarchal system drives the old woman to death. In particular, the crisis of death from illness and misfortune in the *chimnori* (acupuncture) act is a good representation of the helplessness of ordinary people in the face of illness. All of this realistically reflects the tragic life of the commoners.

Sandaenori also depicts the realization of a desirable life. For example, Chwi-bari attempts to ensure an abundant future through education of his child and to realize an equal life beyond the walls of social status. In addition, *sandaenori* expresses the pursuit of a more humane life through the free, strong sexuality of the characters and their outright sexual exposure. Also, the novice monk Sangjiwa's ritual dance to expel evil spirits expresses the ideals of the common people who wish to keep misfortune away and enjoy a life of abundance.

In the meantime, conflicts between the characters do not evolve into extreme confrontation but are transformed into temporary reconciliation. Here, dance serves as the medium to heal the situations and songs serve to solve conflicts and boost their exhilaration. Therefore, *sandaenori* solves issues of reality in a specified temporal and spatial setting through fun and vitality, ultimately leading to collective exhilaration in the performance.

Sandaenori performances share similarities in the characteristics and production process of masks, dance movements, *jangdan* (rhythm patterns), and *bullim* (Kor. 불림, signaling the musicians for a certain rhythm) that connects sections of witty repartee with dances. However, they have slight differences. Yangju Byeolsandaenori features about 23 masks, all of them made of gourds covered with *hanji* (traditional Korean paper) and colored on the surface. The inner bark of pine trees is attached on the nose of the mask, and paper is rolled up to make the eyes and the mouth. The eyes on the Yangju masks are rather long compared to those of other regions. These days paint is used to color the masks and glue is used for an adhesive. The cloth used to wrap the mask is generally black and white but sometimes a red one is used. The paper of Songpa Sandaenori are also made of gourds, and other materials used include paper, paper paste, rubber cement, sticky-rice paste, matt paint and diluent, gelatinous glue, black cotton cloth, and thick thread. They are made in a similar way to Yangju Byeolsandaenori masks.

Compared to Haeseo Talchum performed in Hwanghae-do Province, *sandaenori* has delicate and graceful dances with diverse, well-developed dance

movements using the hands and feet. The main dances in Yangju Byeolsan-daenori are *geodeureumchum* (haughty dance) and *kkaekkichum*. As a dance performed with verve and flair expressed in every part of the body, *geodeureumchum* is again divided into *sabangchigi* (striking the four directions), *yongteurim* (dragon belching dance), *hapjangjaebae* (bowing with the hands together), and *buchaenori* (dancing with a folding fan). *Kkaekkichum* performed to the four-beat *taryeong jangdan* (rhythm) consists of various dance movements: the *kkaekki* movement cutting down like in martial arts; *gogaejabi* (Kor. 고개잡이) in which the performer seduces the partner nodding his head; *palttukjabi* (Kor. 팔뚝잡이, using the left hand to support the elbow of the right arm); taking three steps forward and three steps back; *jarachum*⁵ (Kor. 자라춤, lit. turtle dance); tiptoeing; *yeodaji* (Kor. 여달이 or 여다지, movement like the opening and closing of a hinged door); mat-rolling hand movements; and *gopsawi* (Kor. 곱사위, stepping backward while stretching each hand alternately over the shoulder). *Sandaenori* is performed mainly to the *yeombul jangdan* (Buddhist chanting rhythm), but also often to the *taryeong jangdan*.

As mentioned before, the name *sandaenori* is derived from a makeshift stage called *sandae*, which began to be used in the Goryeo period. When professional entertainers were scattered due to the abolishment of *sandae* during King Yeongjo's reign, *sandaenori* was established in the form of *bonsandae* in Seoul. However, when *bonsandae* was no longer performed, it spread to the suburbs of Seoul and established itself there. Originally, dance, music, traditional folk drama, and miscellaneous plays were performed on the *sandae* stage, but the extant *sandaenori* has been restructured and handed down as masked dance-drama.

1. A legendary figure during the Silla period of Korea who is believed to have had a grotesque face and worn strange garments. When he found his wife lying with the ghost that causes epidemic, he expelled the ghost with a dance called Cheoyongmu.
2. An envoy of the Qing Dynasty of China who headed a mission to the Joseon Dynasty.
3. Sandae Dogam was a government agency responsible for affairs regarding masked dance-dramas.
4. *Jangsi* were local markets usually held at an interval of five days.
5. A dance of raising the right hand to the forehead and flicking both hands so that the palms face outward and then inward, then repeating these motions with the left hand raised.

Bongsan Talchum

봉산탈춤

Masked dance-drama from Bongsan, Hwanghae-do Province.

Masked dance-drama handed down in the Bongsan region of Hwanghae-do Province.

Talchum, or masked dance-drama, from Hwanghae-do Province can be divided into two main types according to the masks, costumes, dance, and text: the Bongsan Talchum type, which was performed in Girin, Seoheung, Bongsan, Hwangju, Jaeryeong, Sincheon, and Anak; and the Haeju Talchum type, which was performed in Ungjin, Gangnyeong, and Haeju.

Bongsan Talchum, representative of the Bongsan Talchum type, and Haeju Talchum are both based on dance performed to the *yeombul jangdan*, *taryeong jangdan* and *gutgeori jangdan* (rhythm) performed by a *sambeonyukgak* ensemble (Kor. 삼현육각, Chin. 三絃六角, lit. three wind and six horns), including the flute (*piri*), transverse bamboo flute (*jeotdae*), two-stringed fiddle (*haegeum*), and hourglass-shaped drum (*janggu*). As a performance that also incorporates body gestures and movements, witty repartee and songs it is a true masked dance-drama, or *gamyeonmugeuk* (Kor. 가면무극, Chin. 假面舞劇, lit. masked dance and drama) that can be largely divided into the masked dance part and drama part.

The dance of Bongsan Talchum is more active than the dance of Yangju Byeolsandaenori, handed down in the central part of the Korean peninsula, or *jangsamchum* (monastic robe dance) of Haeju Talchum, in which the performers move slowly, swinging the ends of their long sleeves over the shoulders. It is based on *kkaekkichum*, a dance in which the ends of the long sleeves of the monastic robe are taken in the hands and flung out, or long sleeve extensions (*hansam*) are jauntily thrown up and down as both arms are folded and unfolded. In particular, the dance of the depraved monk is a jumping dance, or *domu* (Kor. 도무, Chin. 跳舞, lit. jumping dance), like that of Malttugi in *ogwangdaenori*, and features the monk jumping over a fire to show off his special talents (Kor. 장기,

Chin. 長技, lit. chief skill), which is symbolic of the influence of *geonmu* (Kor. 건무, Chin. 健舞, lit. healthy dance) from China.

The classification of dance movements is not distinct but they include wrist movements such as *oesawi*, *gyeopsawi*, *yangsawi* and *mansawi*; Chwibari's *kkaek-kichum* (or *kkirikirichum*); Malttugi's *dueochum*, which features Malttugi driving noblemen into a pigpen and locking them up there; the old woman's bottom shaking dance (*eongdeongichum*) and magpie footsteps (*kkachigeoreum*); and the eight depraved monks' *mutdongchum*. These are performed according to the rhythms signaled at the start of the dance (*bullim*). In the dance of the eight depraved monks (Palmeokjung), the second monk appears wearing a demon-face mask (Kor. 귀면형, Chin. 鬼面型, lit. ghost face form) and hits the first monk, who then chases him, an action that is done repeatedly. His exit takes the form of a dance to expel evil spirits.

Bongsan Talchum is performed by professional entertainers or high-spirited local residents in the village marketplace or public square. Throughout the show, from the opening street procession (*gilnori*) to the post-performance celebration (*dwipuri*), 36 different characters appear. The contents can be largely divided into seven acts but the boundaries between acts are not particularly strict. Each act is composed of a number of stories on set themes.

Spread among the seven acts are four independent performances (*nori*) featuring the depraved monks (Meokjung), the old monk (Nojang), the nobleman (Yangban), and the old woman (Halmi). However, according to the oral testimony of Kim Jinok (金辰玉), as with Yangju Byeolsandaenori, in the second act of Bongsan Talchum the Buddhist drum (*beopgo*) performance was included in the dance of the eight depraved monks, and in the sixth act the young policeman (Podobujang) appeared during the dance of the nobleman. These points further confirm that Bongsan Talchum was derived from the Sandae Dogam type of masked dance-drama, that is, masked dance-dramas managed by the old government office Sandae Dogam.

In the past, it is said Bongsan Talchum was preceded by a street procession, which was followed by a rite to appease the soul of An Chomok, a Joseon Dynasty regional official who revived the masked dance-drama. Generally, a bonfire was built in an open space and a dance called *mudeungchum* (or *hwarangichum*, a dance performed by entertainers called *hwarangi*) was performed to rural percussion music rhythms. When a large number of people had gathered, the novice monks appeared and the masked dance-drama began.



Bongsan Talchum | National Folk Museum of Korea

In the street procession of Bongsan Talchum, a number of performers circled the village in a procession headed by the musicians (Kor. 악공, Chin. 樂工, lit. music worker). They were arranged in the order of the Saja (lion), Malttugi (servant), Chwibari, Somu, Yangban (nobleman), Yeonggam (old man), Sangjwa (novice monk), Nojang (old monk), and Namgangnoin (Kor. 남강노안, Chin. 南江老人, lit. old man of the South Pole). Monkeys ran and frolicked ahead or behind the procession. After going around the village they entered the performance venue and everyone danced together for a while before falling into line again. From there they went to their designated spots and the performance began. When the audience crowded in and made the performance space too small, the monkeys and lion would push the audience back again. These days, street procession has disappeared from Bongsan Talchum and instead the performance is advertised conventionally by posting up bills around the village.

Bongsan Talchum is composed of the following seven acts.

Act 1: Sasangjwachum (dance of four novice monks)

Four novice monks (Sangjwa) appear, all dressed in white monastic inner robes,



Bongsan Talchum masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

red kasaya outer robe, and peaked hats (*gokkal*). First, a depraved monk comes running in with a novice monk on his back. He signals for the *taryeong jangdan* and making a circuit of the performance space he lets the novice monk down in front of the musicians' section and leaves. The other three novice monks all enter in the same fashion until all four are gathered and stand in a row. They dance to the slow "Yeongsanhoesanggok" (Kor. 영산회상곡, Chin. 靈山會相曲, lit. Vulture Peak assembly song), which is the song sung at Yeongsanhoe, the assembly at Vulture Peak, or Mt. Yeongchwisan in Korean, where Sakyamuni delivered a sermon. When the rhythm changes to the *dodeuri jangdan*, they split into pairs and standing in the east and west they dance face to face. When the rhythm changes back to the *taryeong jangdan*, the first depraved monk enters and collapses, and the novice monks dance as they leave.

Act 2: Palmeokjungchum (dance of the eight depraved monks)

Scene 1. Dance of the Eight Depraved Monks: The first depraved monk, who has collapsed on the ground, covers his face with his sleeves, and lying prostrate he begins to move, starting with his feet, in time with the *taryeong jangdan*. Now barely able to move his whole body, he circles his legs in the air in the left and right direction, repeating this four times, and barely manages to get up but falls back down again. Finally, standing up he looks to the left and then to the right, his face covered with his sleeves. Flinging his sleeves up above his head (*mansawi*) he violently shakes his whole body. Only then does he remove the sleeves and show his red mask to the audience. As the *taryeong jangdan* gets faster he does a highly exuberant *kkaekkichum*, waving his arms about and lifting one leg, and waving one sleeve about (*oesawi*). The second depraved monk comes running in and with the sleeve of his robe he slaps the first monk on the face. The first



Saja (lion)



Malttugi



Miyalhalmi



Somu

monk glances back and exists. The second depraved monk comes running in and with the sleeve of his robe he slaps the first monk on the face. The first monk glances back and exists. The second monk runs around the stage and comes to stand still in the center. He looks to the left and then to the right and calls out, “Shwui-i-i! A-at-shwi! A-at-shwit!” and the music stops. The remaining monks all enter and exit in the same manner.

The eight depraved monks enter and perform their own dance and speak their own lines before exiting. Then the eighth monk calls all the monks together and together they circle the performance space dancing the *mutdongchum* and then leave.

Scene 2. Beopgonori (Buddhist drum performance): Two depraved monks enter and suggest they perform *beopgonori*, or the dance of the Buddhist drum. Making a play on words, one monk pretends to mistake *beopgonori* for *beotgonori* (lit. playing naked). The two monks dance and play the Buddhist drum.

Act 3: Sadangchum (dance of the female itinerant entertainer)

The flamboyantly dressed Sadang (female itinerant entertainer) enters on the back of Geosa (Buddhist male entertainer) or riding a sedan chair (Kor. 남여, Chin. 藍輿). A group of Geosa follow playing the hourglass-shaped drum, barrel drum and hand-held drum. They all dance with Sadang and raising their masks sing “Nolyangsageori.”

Act 4: Nojangchum (dance of the old monk)

Scene 1. Nojangchum: With the old monk’s metal staff with six rings (*yukh-wanjang*) on their shoulders the novice monks drag the old monk (Nojang) from the dressing room to the arena. After being dragged for a while the old monk



Dance of Yangban | Cultural Heritage Administration

furtively lets go of the staff and stands up. The depraved monks, unaware of this, keep going. When they finally realize that the old monk is not there, they take turns to search for him. Upon return from where the old monk is, they make all sorts of excuses, saying that the sky had become overcast, that he had abandoned his load of *onggi* pots, that he had abandoned his load of coal, that a snake had appeared. Then when the eighth monk looks closely, he realizes the snake is the old monk and together they sing “Baekgu Taryeong” and “Ododogi Taryeong.” The depraved monks bring Nojang back, but when he comes to stand in the center the old monk collapses. So the depraved monks say they searched everywhere but found the old monk dead. They hold a rite and chant the Buddha’s name and Nojang comes back to life. The monks exit and Somu, a young lady, enters riding a sedan chair. She gets down and starts to dance to the *dodeuri jangdan*. Nojang, who has been praised as a living Buddha, is entranced by her coquetry and expert advances and ends up hanging his own prayer beads around her neck, signaling his fall. This is all performed silently, without a single word. The dance



Dance of Chwibari | Cultural Heritage Administration

of the old monk is considered the highlight of Bongsan Talchum.

Scene 2. Sinjangsuchum (dance of the shoe seller): Nojang and Somu are dancing when Sinjangsu, the shoe seller appears. The old monk calls the shoe seller over and buys a pair of shoes for Somu. Just then a monkey pops out of Sinjangsu's luggage and the shoe seller and monkey plot together. The shoe seller tells the monkey to get the money for the shoes from the old monk. The monkey goes up to the old monk and standing behind Somu makes some lewd gestures. Instead of the money, the monkey receives a note saying, "If you want the money for the shoes, come to the alley behind the firewood store" and shows it to Sinjangsu. Sensing that he will be beaten with firewood, the shoe seller runs away.

Scene 3. Chwibarichum (dance of Chwibari): Holding a green willow branch in both hands and wearing a big bell around one of his knees, Chwibari comes staggering in a drunken state and the old monk, Nojang, slaps him on the face. When he comes to his senses, Chwibari sees Nojang playing with Somu and begins to scold him. Chwibari bets Nojang that he can beat him in dancing and if he wins he says he will take Somu from the old monk. But he fails to win the bet



Miyalhalmi and Yeonggam's dance | Cultural Heritage Administration

and is beaten and chased away. Somu is annoyed and Chwibari lures her with money, dancing the dance of love (*sarangchum*). As a result, Somu ends up having Chwibari's child. Chwibari names the child Madang (lit. yard) and teaches him Chinese characters from the *Thousand Character Classic* and the Korean script, Hangeul.

Act 5: Sajachum (lion's dance)

One of the depraved monks dresses as a horseman and enters with the lion. The lion has come to punish the monks for violating their Buddhist vows but the monks ask for forgiveness. To the *taryeong jangdan* and the *gutgeori jangdan* they dance for a long time and then exit.

Act 6: Yangban Malttugichum (dance of Yangban and Malttugi)

Malttugi, servant of Yangban (nobleman), enters wearing a *beonggeoji* hat and holding a whip. Dancing to the *gutgeori jangdan*, he comes to stand in the center

of the performance space and cries out, “Swi-i!” and stops the music and dancing. Then he continues, “Here come the *yangban*! Now when I say *yangban*, don’t mistake them for a retired prime minister who has passed from the Noron [Kor. 노론, Chin. 老論 lit. old doctrine] faction to the Soron [Kor. 소론, Chin. 少論, lit. young doctrine] faction to Hojo [Kor. 호조, Chin. 戶曹], the ministry of taxation, to Okdang [Kor. 옥당, Chin. 玉堂, lit. jade hall], the Office of Special Councilors, and then onto the three high councilors of state [Kor. 삼정승, Chin. 三政丞, lit. three prime ministers] and head of the six ministries [Kor. 육판서, Chin. 退老宰相, lit. six ministers]. The *yangban* who are coming use the *yang* character for ‘dog-hide’ and the *ban* character for ‘dog-legged table.’” Whereupon a number of noblemen come and shout, “Hey! You ratbag! What are you saying?” In reply Malttugi says, “I don’t know what you heard. I heard that the three brothers from the family of Scholar Yi, who has passed from the Noron to the Soron to Hojo to Okdang to the three high councilors of state and heads of six ministries were coming.” While being ridiculed by Malttugi, their own servant, the noblemen are not even aware of it. When they finally decide where to stay for the night, Malttugi drives them into a pigpen. The noblemen sing *sijo*, poetic songs, and recite poems after giving each other a starting character (Kor. 운자, Chin. 韻字, lit. rhyme character), and once again Malttugi ridicules them. They instruct Malttugi to catch Chwibari, who has been stealing government funds, and bring him to them but they then release Chwibari in return for money. The noblemen are mercilessly exposed and mocked for their incompetence and corruption.

Act 7: Miyalhalmi Yeonggamchum (dance of the old woman and old man)

Miyalhalmi, the old woman, has an emotional reunion with her husband (Yeonggam), from whom she was separated in the midst of war. But she finds that he has taken a concubine named Dolmeorijip and a fight breaks out. They are about to divide their belongings when the old woman is accidentally hit and killed by her husband. Namgangnoin (Kor. 남강노인, Chin. 南江老人, lit. old man of the South Pole) calls in a shaman to hold *jinogwigut*, a rite to send her soul to heaven.

Act 8: Dwipuri (closing)

The masked dance-drama, which began with the dance of four novice monks, thus ends with a shaman rite to console the old woman’s soul. All the performers prepare a ritual table together (Kor. 제상, Chin. 祭床) and throw their masks onto

a bonfire. They bow and give thanks that the performance has ended without any problems and make their wishes for good fortune for the village, thus bringing the whole performance to a close. In the past when Bongsan Talchum was held in the Bongsan region, the performance began at night and the seven acts followed one after the other all through the night and ended when morning came.

As a seasonal custom, Bongsan Talchum is known to have been held in spring at Dano (fifth day of the fifth lunar month). A bonfire was built at night and the performance continued till dawn. However, it became a custom associated with Dano only from the late Joseon period. Before that time, it is said Bongsan Talchum was performed on Buddha's birthday, eighth day of the fourth lunar month, as part of the lantern festivities. This is seen as continuation of the tradition of Buddhist lotus lantern ceremonies (Kor. 연등행사, Chin. 燃燈行事, lit. lotus lantern event) from the Goryeo Dynasty.

Bongsan Talchum, Korea's representative masked dance-drama, is a comprehensive theatrical performance that combines ritual aspects such as prayers to the gods for the welfare of the village and a good harvest with humorous dialogue focused on satire of Buddhism and the ruling class, as well as song and dance to lively music. Bongsan Talchum is also important as a cultural symbol of Korea. The coloring of the costumes is clear and bright and elegant, embodying a uniquely Korean image, and for this reason is widely used in Korean cultural contents. The dance movements are dynamic, being bigger and having a wider arc than those of other masked dance-dramas. The text (spoken lines) has been handed down almost intact and has been appraised as a work of literature that well reflects the culture and enjoyment of the arts of the Joseon Dynasty. For this reason, it is introduced in some 25 kinds of Korean textbooks at the elementary and secondary school levels and is hence a familiar work to young Koreans. Indeed, understanding of Bongsan Talchum is a part of the general education of all Koreans.

Bukcheong Sajanori

북청사자놀이

Lion play from the Bukcheong region of Hamgyeongnam-do Province.

Lion masked dance-drama originating in Bukcheong, Hamgyeongnam-do Province.

Bukcheong Sanjanori was a seasonal event originally performed on the evening of Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the year, by the farmers and residents of all villages of Bukcheong, Hamgyeongnam-do Province. However, it has not been performed in the Bukcheong region in North Korea since the mid-1960s. In South Korea, Bukcheong Sajanori continues to be performed by entertainers who came south during the Korean War, and in 1976 it was designated an Important Intangible Cultural Heritage.

In current versions of Bukcheong Sajanori two lions appear, but the original version performed in Bukcheong featured only one lion. In rare cases, some villages dressed up a performer as a baby lion, which appeared with the mother lion. In terms of content, it seems many changes have been made over the years. Aside from those performing the *sajachum* (lion dance) and *aewonseongchum*, a dance performed to the folk song “Aewonseong,” the characters include Sadang and Geosa, who are male and female itinerant performers, respectively; child performers called *mudong*, Kkopchu (hunchback), dancers performing the *kalchum* (sword dance) or *seungmuchum* (monk’s dance), Daesa (great monk), Uisa (doctor), Yangban (nobleman), and Kkoksoe (servant). In the Bukcheong region, however, the characters and contents varied from one village to the next.

According to a report by Kim Ilchul, who carried out a field study in the Bukcheong region in North Korea between 1955 and 1956, *sajanori* performed in the village of Jukpyeong-ri featured a band composed of four *piri* (double-reed flute), four *tungso* (six-holed bamboo flute), one *kkwaenggwari* (small gong), one *jing* (large gong), one *saenap* (double-reed oboe), one *sogo* (hand-held drum), one *buk* (barrel drum), and a troupe of performers including those doing the lion dance, Kkoksoe, Yangban, Daesa, Jeombachi (fortuneteller), the doctor, a person



Bukcheong Sajanori | National Folk Museum of Korea

who dances and plays percussion music while twirling a long ribbon attached to a hat called *sangmo*, two Geosa playing hand-held drums, and child performers. A notable character here is the fortuneteller Jeombachi. When the lion falls sick and collapses after eating his prey, the fortuneteller tries to divine the cause of the lion's illness.

The use of the *tungso* is a defining feature of the musical accompaniment to Bukcheong Sajanori. Almost all the dances are performed to the merry tunes played by the *tungso*, and the audiences respond almost automatically, dancing as they move their shoulders up and down.

In the Bukcheong region, as dozens of villages all made their own lions for the performance of Bukcheong Sajanori, there were great differences between the lion masks used in different villages. An idea of what the Bukcheong Sajanori masks looked like can be gained from examples such as those collected by Song Sokha in the 1930s (preserved at the National Museum of Korea), the lions photographed by Song Sokha on Feb. 7, 1936 on site in Bukcheong-eup and Toseong-ri, and the lions featured in Bukcheong Sajanori as it is performed today. As can be seen in these examples, the masks are all different. Kim Ilchul,



Saja and Yangban in Bukcheong Sajanori (Bukcheong Sajanori troupe)

Busan Gudeok Stadium, Busan | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

who carried out research in Bukcheong, divides the lion masks into three types: 1) lion with the appearance of a tiger or cat, 2) lion with the appearance of a demon or monster, *gwimyeon* (Kor. 귀면, Chin. 鬼面, lit. ghost face), and 3) lion with dragon scales.

Bukcheong Sajanori is not only rich in theatrical elements it also has many of the same features as *maegwi* (Kor. 매귀, Chin. 埋鬼, lit. bury ghosts), events designed to chase away evil spirits that are performed as part of *narye* (Kor. 나례, Chin. 儺禮, lit. rite to exorcise demons) held at court on the last day of the year. From the first to the fourteenth day of the lunar New Year, the *sanjanori* troupe would go from house to house in the village to chase away evil spirits, carrying out a rite similar to that known as *jisinbapgi*, or literally “treading on the earth gods.” The lion wore large bells near the head, which rang so loudly that it is said children were startled by the noise. The sound of the bells was meant to chase away evil spirits. The lion first stepped inside the front gate of the house and, shaking the bells, walked round and round the yard, showing off its might, then opened the door of the main bedroom and walked inside. Making a loud “clack, clack” sound, it opened and closed its mouth to simulate the act of eating ghosts

as it went into every room in the house. It also entered the back room where rice and other grains were stored (*dwitgobang*). After performing the same actions in the kitchen, the lion went back outside into the yard with a gourd in its mouth, then threw it on the ground and smashed it. This was also a ritual act to chase away ghosts. The lion, which entered the kitchen at the request of the owner of the house, bowed three times to the kitchen range, where *seongju danji*, a small pottery jar holding rice and coins, and *jowang* (a piece of hemp cloth tied up) are kept. The jar represents Seongju (Kor. 성주, Chin. 成造), the household guardian god, and the hemp cloth Jowang (Kor. 조왕, Chin. 竈王, lit. kitchen king), the kitchen god. The lion went out into the yard and around the house once more, going into the backyard, the crockery room, and the barn. That is, the lion went to every corner of the house. Then it danced and cavorted in the yard. Some children were seated on the lion's back in the belief that a child who had ridden the lion would live a long and healthy life (Kor. 무병장수, Chin. 無病長壽, lit. long life with no disease). Also, people would stealthily cut a piece of the lion's fur, under the folk belief that keeping a piece of lion's fur would bring long life.

Like most other folk plays that were carried out at Jeongwol Daeboreum, Bukcheong Sajanori was performed as an act of *byeoksajingyeong* (Kor. 벽사진경, Chin. 辟邪進慶, lit. dispel demons and welcome celebration) to drive away misfortune and promote good fortune. Simply the appearance of the lion, the king of the beasts, was enough to chase away evil spirits. In particular, the way the lion visited all the houses in the village, ringing its bells to chase away evil spirits, coincides with the *maegwi* event carried out on New Year's Eve when performing troupes went around to all homes in the village to chase away evil spirits.

In the *narye* rites held at the royal palace, the *guna* rite (Kor. 구나의식, Chin. 驅儺儀式, lit. rite to exorcise demons) was carried out. This rite also involved visiting every corner of the palace and chasing away any miscellaneous spirits. At government offices and ordinary homes, this same rite was called *maegwi*. When this rite was carried out by the village *nongak* band (farmers' music band playing percussion instruments) on New Year's Eve to visit every house in the village and pray to the various household gods—the tutelary god in the wood-floored hall (Seongjusin), ancestral gods (Josangsin) in the main bedroom, the kitchen god (Jowangsin) in the kitchen, the gods in the yard, the toilet god (Cheuksin) in the outhouse, the gate god (Munsin) at the front gate, and the well god (Jeongsin) at the well—and chase away miscellaneous spirits from every corner of the house, this event was called *maegu*, *maegwi*, or *jisinbabgi*. The



Dance of standing lions | Gangbuk-gu in Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Kkopchuchum (hunchback's dance) | Gangbuk-gu in Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Oriental doctor applying acupuncture on the fallen lion | Gangbuk-gu in Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

fact that Bukcheong Sajanori also featured a *maegwi* component is evidence that the lion's dance was influenced by *narye*.

The spoken text of Bukcheong Sajanori is much more improvisational than that of other masked dance-dramas. The lines are not spoken as dialogue for communication among the characters, nor are they expressions of conflict or communication of one's intent. They are mostly lines spoken as needed for progression of the performance or commentary explaining the dances. Therefore, there is no fixed text. The lines are improvised according to the progress of the performance and the situation at the time.

The band playing musical accompaniment for Bukcheong Sajanori is composed of 2-5 *tungso* players, one barrel drum player, one hourglass-shaped drum player, and one big gong player. In other masked dance-dramas, the hourglass-shaped drum and small gong (*kkwaenggwari*) play the main rhythms but in Bukcheong Sajanori the main rhythm is played by the barrel drum. As the *tungso* is a quiet instrument, two to five of them are needed for the performance. Its tone is well matched with the subtle sounds of the large gong and barrel drum. The small gong is not used because it drowns out the sound of the *tungso*. The band is thus composed of instruments that give maximum effect to the performance.

The major objective in holding Bukcheong Sajanori is to drive away evil spirits and usher in good fortune. In the process of the transmission of the lion, king of the beasts, in the form of a mask, *sajanori* was performed in a grand way at Jeongwol Daboreum to expel evil spirits, and pray for peace and happiness. *Sajanori* also had a religious function. A child who rode the back of the lion was believed to live a long and healthy life, while cutting a piece of the lion's fur and keeping it was believed to bring longevity.

The function of *sajanori* in promoting social unity through solidarity and cooperation among the villagers holds great significance. Each village made its own preparations for *sajanori* and the lion visited every home in the village. With the grains collected as donations from the homes of landowners, the villages carried out communal projects (providing scholarships, helping the needy, holding meetings for the elderly, and funding *sajanori*), by which means solidarity and cooperation among villagers was achieved.

Sajanori also functioned as recreation and entertainment. By dancing and singing and enjoying themselves all through the night on a big national holiday once a year, people would release the tensions of everyday life and be refreshed and renewed to meet the New Year with a fresh mind.

Eunyul Talchum

은율탈춤

Masked dance-drama from Eunyul-gun, Hwanghae-do Province.

A type of Haeseo Talchum handed down in So-eup, Eunyul, Hwanghae-do Province.

Although there are no records or other materials providing evidence of the origin or emergence of Eunyul Talchum, it is surmised that this masked dance-drama emerged around the 19th century.

Like other *talchum* (masked dance-dramas) of Hwanghae-do Province, it was performed on the major holidays celebrated in North Korea: for two or three days straight at Dano (fifth day of the fifth lunar month), on Buddha's birthday (eighth day of the fourth lunar month), and at Baekjung (fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month). As in Bongsan, Hwanghae-do Province, in Eunyul Dano was celebrated with *ssireum* (wrestling) and swinging competitions in the daytime and with masked dance-drama around a bonfire at night.

Eunyul Talchum is composed of six acts. Act one is the lion dance (*sajachum*), act two is the dance of novice monks (*heonmokchum* or *sangjwachum*), act three is the dance of eight depraved monks (*palmeokjungchum*), act four is the nobleman's dance (*yangbanchum*), act five is the old monk's dance (*noseungchum*) and act six is the dance of the old man and old woman (Yeonggam and Halmigwangdae).

Act one, the lion dance, is a ritual dance performed to purify the performance space by expelling evil spirits. This is why the lion is white. In Bongsan Talchum the lion is made up of two people but in Eunyul Talchum the lion is a big beast with three people inside the costume. In Bongsan Talchum, the lion dance constitutes the fifth act, featuring eight depraved monks, the old monk and Chwi-bari. In this case, the lion is sent by the Buddha to punish the monks for breaking their vows. But in Eunyul Talchum the lion dance is the first act and hence has the function of a ritual dance to expel evil and purify the performance space. In this case, the lion simply dances to the *taryeong jangdan* and *jajindomburi jangdan* and exits.

It is thought the lion dance was newly added to Eunyu Talchum in 1913-1914. This is because the lion dance did not appear in *bonsandaenori* masked dance-dramas performed in Seoul and the vicinity, nor in *byeolsandaenori* performed in other regions. Hence Haeseo Talchum, which is derived from *bonsandaenori*, would not have featured the lion dance either. However, the on-site records made by Kim Inchul show that the lion dance was added to Bongsan Talchum around 1913-1914.

Act two is the dance of the novice monks, or Sangjwa (Kor. 상좌, Chin. 上佐). In Eunyu Talchum the novice monk is called Heonmok. In Bongsan Talchum there are four novice monks and in Gangnyeong Talchum there are two, but in Eunyu Talchum there is only one. The novice monk, called Heonmok here, is dressed in a white monastic robe, white peaked hat, a flowered kasaya robe draped over both shoulders, and white pants. As he enters he bows in all four directions (Kor. 배례, Chin. 拜禮, lit. bowing rite) and then begins to dance. He dances to the rhythms of *yeombul jangdan*, *neuttaryeong jangdan* and *jajin taryeong jangdan*, in that order, and then leaves. These days, he wears a mask but it is said that originally he did not.



Eunyu Talchum | National Folk Museum of Korea



Eunyul Talchum masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

Act three features eight depraved monks (Palmeokjung) dancing and singing. The depraved monks are called Meokjung today but originally may have been called Meokseung. In the scripts of the audio records of Bongsan Talchum and Yangju Byeolsandaenori from 1930, the name Meokjung is used in most cases but transcribed in Chinese characters to read Meokseung (Kor. 먹승, Chin. 墨僧, lit. black monk). When Meokseung is transcribed back into the Korean script Hangeul, it becomes Meokjung. The name literally means “black monk” and is intended to describe a fallen monk who is “black on the inside.” This is a fitting name for the depraved monk character in Korean masked dance-dramas.

The eight depraved monks enter one after another, and reciting learned lines dotted with literary Chinese expressions in a sing-song voice, they all dance. In Bongsan Talchum the first depraved monk dances only without speaking any lines (Kor. 무언, Chin. 無言, lit. no words) but in Eunyul Talchum the first depraved monk has the longest lines to speak. His lines are characterized by a recital of all the places he has traveled to, constituting a travelogue called *nojeonggi* (Kor. 노정기, Chin. 路程記, lit. record of travel on the road). In masked dance-dramas derived from *bonsandaenori*, such as Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Suyeong Yaryu and Tongyeong Ogwangdae, it is the character named Malttugi who recites the travelogue. Malttugi’s travelogue does also appear in Eunyul Talchum but the first depraved monk’s trav-

elogue is more prominent. When each monk appears, he hits the monk before him with his long sleeve extensions (*bansam*), though this was originally done with a peach tree branch or willow branch, and chases him away and then begins to dance. The eighth and final monk calls all the other monks back to perform their group dance called *mutdongchum*. In Eunyul Talchum the monks also appear one after another but the preceding monks do not exit. They stand around the performance space and all dance together. Then they close with the group dance. The depraved monks of Eunyul Talchum have similar costumes and dance movements to their counterparts in Bongsan Talchum, but are different in that they wear peaked hats (*gokkal*).

Act four features the Yangban (nobleman) appearing with a tavern hostess named Saemaeksi. In Eunyul Talchum there are two such women. One appears in this act with the Yangban, and the other appears in the act featuring the old monk.

In this act, three nobleman brothers appear. Their servant Malttugi treats them roughly and ridicules them.

The First Yangban calls Malttugi and after a long wait the servant appears with a stick in his hand. He hits the Second Yangban with the stick, and when he yells at him, Malttugi says, "It's been such a long time since I've seen you. I was so happy that I didn't know what I was doing and ended up hitting your head with this stick." In this fashion Malttugi continues to humiliate the noblemen.

When the Third Yangban, who is disabled with twisted arms and legs, calls him, Malttugi gets on his back and pushes him down to the ground. "I was afraid you'd fall over, so I thought I should protect your legs," he says in excuse. The Third Yangban laughs strangely and says, "Of course. That's our Malttugi. Malttuga..." In this scene the powerless and foolish members of the ruling class are mercilessly satirized.

As the Third Yangban is not sound in body, he gives way to Malttugi when it comes to Saemaeksi.

Malttugi takes Saemaeksi's hand and dances with her. In other masked dance-dramas Saemaeksi, the young woman, is called Somu and usually appears in the old monk's act to seduce the old monk. In other masked dance-dramas the young woman ends up having Chwibari's child, but in Eunyul Talchum Saemaeksi ends up performing lewd acts with the monkey and giving birth to the monkey's child. The monkey dances with Saemaeksi then gets on her back. This is the expression of copulation. When Saemaeksi has a baby some time later, Chwibari appears and says the child is his. He holds the child and plays with

him. In other masked dance-dramas, the young woman is a silent character but in Eunyul Talchum Saemaeksi says, “Ah, Malttuga...”

The character named Choe Gwal who appears in Eunyul Talchum is the original name of Chwibari, who appears in Yangju Byeolsandaenori and Songpa Sandaenori of Gyeonggi-do Province, Bongsan Talchum and Gangnyeong Talchum of Hwanghae-do Province. It seems Chwibari is the result of gradual change in the name from Choegwari (Choe Gwari) to Chwigwari to Chwibari. It has been suggested that the name Chegwal (體适), which appears in the song of the tenth month in “Nongga Wollyeongga” (farming songs according to month) written by Jeong Hakyu (丁學游) is the old transcription of Chwibari or Choegwari.

In the fifth act, the old monk's dance, the old monk, Noseung, sings “Jung Taryeong” (“Monk's Song”) and recites out loud the mantra (Kor. 진언, Chin. 眞言, lit. true words) from *Cheonsugyeong* (Kor. 천수경, Chin. 千手經), the *Thousand Hand Sutra*. This is a point of difference with other masked dance-dramas where the old monk remains silent to the end.

The old monk comes down from the mountains and looks around the secular world (Kor. 속세, Chin. 俗世, lit. vulgar world) and is making his way to Cheongnyongsa Temple (靑龍寺) on Mt. Gwangdeoksan (廣德山) when he drinks some chrysanthemum wine and gets drunk. Listless and staggering with drink, he arrives at the performance space and collapses. He sings “Jung Taryeong” and recites the mantra from the *Thousand Hand Sutra*: “*Jeonggueop jineon* [Mantra for the Purification of Spoken Karma] *suri suri mahasuri susuri sabaha obang naewoe anwijesinjineon...*”

At this point Malttugi and Choegwari appear and make actions mocking the old monk. Then they bring Saemaeksi out and sing “Daekko Taryeong” and “Byeongsin Nanbongga” (“Song of the Crippled Prodigal”). While they are singing, Saemaeksi does a coquettish dance in an attempt to seduce Noseung but the old monk runs this way and that trying to avoid her. After repeating this a few times, the old monk finally succumbs to Saemaeksi's wiles and lies still gazing dumbly at her. Then as if he has made some sort of decision, he gets up at the end of “Daekko Taryeong” and approaches Saemaeksi, intending to hug her. While Malttugi and Choegwari are singing “Byeongsin Nanbongga” Noseung begins to dance and circle around Saemaeksi. Saemaeksi faces the old monk and does a flirtatious dance. When the singing ends, Noseung laments, “I've been taken in, taken in. The old monk from the back temple has been taken in. It can't

be helped, it can't be helped. When it comes to Saemaeksi, even a monk can't help it." He sings this song of self-ridicule and gets very angry and hits Malttugi on the face with the sleeve of his robe. Then Choegwari comes and hits the old monk and drives him away. Saemaeksi is now his and the two dance together and leave.

The sixth act is the dance of Yeonggam (old man) and Halmi (old woman). The old couple originally lived on Jeju Island but the old man found life there too suffocating and decided to travel around the country. For this reason the two have lived separate from each other. In Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, Yangju Byeolsandaenori, and Songpa Sandaenori Halmi is a shaman. So in Bongsan Talchum she holds in one hand a fan decorated with shaman implements (Kor. 무신도, Chin. 巫神圖, lit. shaman spirit painting) and in the other hand a bunch of small bells, looking very much the picture of a shaman. But in Eunyul Talchum she appears holding nothing but a white handkerchief, which makes it hard to see her as a shaman.

The old man and old woman are reunited after a long separation and Halmi sings "Naniga Taryeong" out of happiness. In Bongsan Talchum she sings "Bogijigo Taryeong." The song "Naniga Taryeong" is a feature that distinguishes Eunyul Talchum.

But when the old man brings out his concubine, Ttungttanjijip, his wife and the concubine start to fight. In Bongsan Talchum and many other masked dance-dramas, the concubine is named after her place of origin such as Yonsansamgae (Mapo, Seoul), Dolmeorijip or Jemilji (Jemulpojjip), so the name Ttungttanjijip in Eunyul Talchum is unusual in that it refers not to a place but personality.

As the old woman and Ttungttanjijip fight over the old man, Malttugi and Choegwari appear and say they will decide who the old man belongs to. They ask the two women to describe some of the old man's characteristics. At this Ttungttanji says, "Ah, my husband enjoys his meals and is good-hearted and easygoing." Then the old woman says, "Ah, my husband has a wart the size of a pea below his navel and there is just one white hair growing out of it." This is the line that is used in performances today but originally it was quite different. According to Lee Duhyeon's recording, she says, "My husband's thing, it has four testicles. But a wart the size of pea appeared among the four lumps of his balls so when we sleep together my bones just melt. That's his special characteristic." These days many women and young children come to the performances so explicit sexual expressions are made more indirect.



Eight depraved monk's dance | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea



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Choegwari pulls down Yeonggam's pants to check and then declares that he is indeed Halmi's husband. When the old woman moves to take her husband away, Tungttanjijip rushes at her and the two start to fight again. In the process Tungttanji kicks Halmi so hard that she kills her.

When Halmi dies, a shaman appears and holds a rite for her. The shaman receives the old woman's spirit and delivers her words. Then with her body she cuts through a long white piece of cloth (*siwangpo*). The ritual scene is thus expanded in Eunyul Talchum. In Bongsan Talchum, it is Namgangnoin (old man of the South Pole) who appears and organizes the shaman rite but he does not appear in Eunyul Talchum. The shaman conducts the rite in the presence of Yeonggam and the concubine.

Considering the location of Eunyul at the end of the western plains region in North Korea, Eunyul Talchum is a good example of masked dance-drama of Hwanghae-do Province that reflects the mutual influence of Bongsan Talchum and Haeju Talchum. Until the 1920s, Bongsan Talchum represented the eastern part of the province, Eunyul Talchum the western part, and Haeju Talchum the southern part.

Like other masked dance-dramas, the themes of Eunyul Talchum show first, ritual dance to expel evil spirits; second, the fall of a monk; third, ridicule of the ruling class *yangban*; fourth, the tangled relationships that arise from allowing men to have more than one wife (Kor. 일부처첩, Chin. 一夫妻妾, lit. one husband, wife and concubine) and through this the lives of the common people.

In other masked dance-dramas, Somu gives birth to Chwibari's child in the old monk's act, but in Eunyul Talchum, the corresponding young woman character, Saemaeksi, performs lewd acts with the monkey and gives birth to the monkey's child. Chwibari appears and says the child is his and holds the child and plays with him. This scene mocks the noblemen more than the monk, sharpening the conflict between the ruling class and the ordinary people. In all masked dance-dramas the old monk is a silent role but in Eunyul Talchum he drinks chrysanthemum wine, gets drunk and staggers around, singing "Jung Taryeong" and reciting a mantra out loud. The lewdness of his lines is strong compared to the content of the old monk's performance in other masked dance-dramas.

Other special features of Eunyul Talchum are the songs, the earthy sounds of "Kkodogi Taryeong," which Choegwari sings when he dandles the baby, "Daekko Taryeong" and "Byeongsin Nanbongga" sung to tease the old monk, and "Naniga Taryeong" sung at the reunion of Yeonggam and Halmi.

Gangnyeong Talchum

강령탈춤

Masked dance-drama from Gangnyeong, Hwanghae-do Province.

Masked dance-drama originally handed down in the Gangnyeong region of Hwanghae-do Province.

Gangnyeong Talchum was recreated in the South after the Korean War (1950-1953) by refugees from the North who had settled in Incheon and Seoul. Therefore, this *talchum* (masked dance-drama) has been widely transmitted through South Korea beyond its place of origin in Gangnyeong. Virtually no records or other evidence exists attesting to the history of Gangnyeong Talchum so the accurate details are difficult to make out. According to research so far, it is a form of masked dance-drama that derived from Sandae Dogam, a government office in charge of masked dance-drama, which developed in connection with the nearby Haeju region.

Gangnyeong Talchum was generally performed on special holidays such as New Year, Jeongwol Daeboreum (first full moon day of the year), Buddha's birthday, Dano (spring festival) and Chuseok (harvest moon festival), but was also often performed for national celebrations or at village events designed to strengthen solidarity among the residents. The performance is divided into three main parts: *apnori*, *talnori* and *dwitnori*. *Apnori*, or "front *nori*," is a kind of prelude that consists of a street procession and opening rite. *Talnori* is the main performance and consists of seven acts. The first act is *sajachum* (lion's dance), which includes the monkey's dance and horseman's dance; the second act is Malttugi's dance, or the dance of the nobleman's servant; the third act is the dance of the depraved monks (Meokjung); the fourth act is the dance of the novice monks (Sangjiwa); the fifth act is the dance of the nobleman and his servant (Yangban and Malttugi). The sixth act is the dance of Nojang (old monk) and Chwi-bari, which can be divided into three scenes: dance of eight depraved monks (*palmeokjungchum*), dance of the old woman (*miyalhalmichum*) and dance of the shaman (*mudangchum*). The seventh act is the dance of the old man and old lady

(Miyalyeonggam and Miyalhalmi), which is also divided into three scenes: dance of the old man, dance of the old woman, and dance of the shaman. The final part of the performance is *dwitnori*, or “after *nori*,” and consists of a mask-burning ceremony and *dwipuri*.

In the street procession (*gilnori*) in the first part, all the performers stand in line, and playing percussion instruments they go around the whole the village. A flag bearer stands at the head of the procession and is followed by musicians playing the small gong (*kkwaenggwari*), large gong (*jing*), hourglass-shaped drum (*janggu*), barrel drum (*buk*), and *saenap* (*taepyeongso*, double-reed wind instrument). The musicians are then followed by the masked performers, including two servants called Malttugi, two lions, two horsemen, a monkey, two novice monks, two depraved monks, Chwibari, an old monk, Jinhan Yangban (first nobleman), Mahan Yangban (second nobleman) and Byeonhan Yangban (also called Jaemul Daegam), a young unmarried nobleman (Doryeong), Miyalyeonggam (old man), Miyalhalmi (old woman), Yongsansamgaejip (concubine), Namgangnoin, Munsajang and the shaman (Mudang), appearing in that order. The



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concubine sometimes rides a horse or in a palanquin while Namgangnoin may ride a black ox. After making a round of the whole village, the procession heads for the performance venue, called *talpan*. The purpose of the street procession is thus to announce the start of the performance and to purify the village by expelling evil spirits and harmful energy. When the procession arrives at the *talpan*, a rite to herald the start of the performance (*seomak gosa*) is held in the center.

The main part of the performance, *talchum*, begins with the lion's dance, which includes the monkey's dance and the horseman's dance. The lions are dressed in white jacket (*jeogori*) and pants and white lion costume on top covered in fur. The horsemen also wear white jacket and pants with a black *deogeure* (short military coat), a red sash around the waist tied at the back, and long bands linking the thighs with the sash at the waist, a blue one on the left thigh and a red one on the right thigh. They wear masks and a hat decorated with paper flowers. Wonsungi, the monkey, wears red pants and jacket and a red sash around the waist that is tied at the back. He also wears red socks and gloves. The major rhythms used for the music for the lion's dance are the *gilnori jangdan*, *neujeun taryeong jangdan*, and *jajingutgeori jangdan*. The two lions are a male and female pair, the lion at the front grabs his mask with both hands and raises it high while the lion at the rear sends the right hand back to grab its tail. The two

horsemen take control of one lion each. The monkey dances around them.

The second act features two servants called Malttugi, who are dressed in the same masks and costume and hold the same props. In the left hand they hold a long wooden club. They are dressed in white pants and jacket with a short red coat on top. A yellow sash is worn around the waist and tied at the back with a big bell attached and a stick stuck in the sash. They wear long bands linking the thighs with the sash at the waist, a blue one on the left thigh and a red one on the right thigh, as well as masks and a hat decorated with paper flowers. From either side of the stage the Malttugi jump towards the center as if in a hurry and jump up in surprise when they come face to face. They repeat this movement several times, then dance facing each other (Kor. 대무, Chin. 對舞, lit. opposite dance) to several rhythms: *yeombul jangdan*, *taryeong jangdan* and *jajingutgeori jangdan*. During the *yeombul* and *taryeong* rhythms they hold their clubs up as they dance then during the final *jajingutgeori jangdan* they take out the sticks in their sashes at the back and dance holding their sticks while facing each other.

In the third act, the dance of the depraved monks, the first depraved monk and the second depraved monk, dressed in the same masks and costumes, appear on stage one after the other and dance. They wear white pants and jacket with a grey hemp monastic robe (*jangsam*) on top. They have a red sash around the waist, and long bands linking the thighs with the sash at the waist, a blue one on the left thigh and a red one on the right thigh. They wear masks and a Buddhist hat called *songnak*. When the first monk appears and performs *jangsamchum* (monastic robe dance) to the *yeombul jangdan*, *taryeong jangdan* and *jajingutgeori jangdan*, the second monk appears and hits the first monk with his robe and chases him away. Then the second monk dances to the same rhythms and exits.

In the fourth act, the dance of the novice monks (*sangjwachum*), the two young monks enter the stage from different corners, dressed in the same masks and costume, and meet in the center to dance face to face. Their costume consists of white pants and jacket and puttees (*haengjeon*), with white Buddhist monastic robe on top and a white peaked hat on the head. A red kasaya robe (*gasa*) is draped over the shoulders. They dance to the *yeombul jangdan*, *taryeong jangdan* and *jajingutgeori jangdan*.

In the fifth act, four incompetent noblemen are dragged out of home by two servants (Malttugi). Together they sing and speak their lines and dance facing each other. Jinhan Yangban is dressed in white pants and jacket, puttees and a

grey hemp monastic robe on top. He has a jade-colored tasseled belt around the waist and carries a cane and folding fan painted with flowers, and on his head a dogskin hat. Mahan Yangban is dressed in the same basic costume, carries a white fan and cane, and an official's cap on his head (*chonggwan*). Byeonhan Yangban is dressed in white pants and jacket and puttees, with a long vest (*kwae-ja*) and jade-colored formal coat (*dopo*). He wears a jade-colored tasseled belt around the waist and a mask and red hat. Doryeong, the young unmarried nobleman, is dressed in white pants and jacket, long navy colored vest and tasseled belt. He holds a white fan and wears a mask and black hood (*bokgeon*). The two Malttugi are dressed the same as they were for the second act and hold sticks in their hands. The music for the Yangban and Malttugi dance mainly features the *jajingutgeori jangdan*. When Byeonhan Yangban appears the *jangtaryeong jangdan*, *mansebaji jangdan* and *gut jangdan* are used. The Yangban and Malttugi dance is comprised of several types of movements including *jangsamchum*, cane dance, cripple's dance, shaman's dance, *hansamchum* (dance using long sleeve extensions), and stick dance.

The sixth act features the dance of Nojang (old monk) and Chwibari and can



Mokjungchum | Cultural Heritage Administration

be divided into three parts. The first part features Chwibari in a drunken state dancing a group dance with the seven depraved monks who are his followers. This is the dance of the eight depraved monks. In the second part, the old monk appears with two novice monks. When the old monk sees the beautiful young woman (Somu) he gets excited and ends up breaking the Buddhist law. In the third part, Chwibari dances gaily with the young woman, whom he has taken away from the old monk. The woman gives birth to a son and Chwibari teaches him to read and write. The depraved monks are dressed in white pants and jacket, a short military coat (*deogeure*), and have a red sash around the waist tied at the back. They also wear long bands linking the thighs with the sash at the waist, a blue one on the left thigh and a red one on the right thigh. Chwibari is dressed in white pants and jacket with a red military coat on top. The coat is decorated with dots, which symbolize the sun and moon (K. 일월, Chin. 日月). Around the waist he wears a yellow sash that is tied at the back and a big bell is tied on there. He also wears long bands linking the thighs with the sash at the waist, a blue one on the left thigh and a red one on the right thigh. In both hands he holds a bunch of willow or zelkova branches. Somu is dressed in a red skirt and yellow



Sajachum (lion dance) | Cultural Heritage Administration

jacket with a long navy blue vest on top. Around her waist is a red sash tied at the back. She wears colorfully striped long sleeve extensions, a mask and a kind of military hat called *beonggeoji*. The novice monks are dressed in white pants and jacket and puttees, a white monastic robe and white peaked hat. A red sash is tied over one shoulder and prayers beads are hung around the neck. Noseung (old monk) is dressed in grey pants and jacket, leggings and a grey hemp monastic robe. A red kasaya robe is draped over the shoulders. A string of 108 prayer beads hangs around the neck and in his hands he holds a flower-decorated fan and a metal staff with six rings on top (*yukhwanjang*). He wears a mask and a Buddhist hat called *songnak*. The dance of Noseung and Chwibari is performed to the *yeombul jangdan*, *taryeong jangdan* and *jajingutgeori jangdan*.

Act seven, the dance of Miyalyeonggam and Miyalhami, is also divided into three parts. The first part is the dance of the old man, Miyalyeonggam, and the second part is the dance of the old woman, Miyalhami. Through the relationship of the old man and his wife and his concubine, Yongsansamgaejip, this act deals with the subject of love and conflict, and through the system of polygamy (Kor. 일부처첩, Chin. 一夫妻妾, lit. one husband, wife and concubine) the joys and sorrows of the lives of the common people. Moreover, as an act symbolizing the prosperity of the village sexual intercourse is expressed. The content is as follows. The old man and woman are separated in the midst of war, and as the old man searches for his wife he meets Yongsansamgaejip and takes her as his concubine. After much suffering the old woman is reunited with her husband, but as conflict escalates between the wife and the concubine, the wife is thrown out of home. In the third part of this act, when the old woman dies after being thrown out of home by her husband and his concubine, the village elder Namgangnoin appears and calls the shaman to hold *jinogwigut* for Miyalhalmi, a rite to send her to a good place after death.

After the second part, *talnori*, all the masks used in the performance are burned. Then the final part, *dwipuri*, follows. All the performers, musicians and members of the audience mix and drink together and sing and dance all through the night. This is the close of the performance.

In a comparison and analysis of the shape of the masks, the form of dance, method of acting, and order of acts in the various *talchum* handed down across the Hwanghae-do region, Gangnyeong Talchum is rather distinctive. It acts out, gives expression to and exposes the joys and sorrows of the everyday lives of the common people, tragedy and conflict caused by the concubine system, symbolic

action of the prosperity and reproductive abilities of the village and the villagers, the common people's mockery and ridicule of the nobility and monks, and the expulsion of evil spirits. The 20 some different kinds of masks made of paper are burnt at the end of the performance to remove any misfortune that might remain in the village or among the residents and to contribute to a peaceful, hope-filled future.

Haeseo Talchum

해서탈춤

Masked dance-drama from the Haeseo region.

Masked dance-drama that has been passed down in the Haeseo region.

A general term for masked dance-drama (*talchum*) that was originally performed in the Haeseo region, that is, Hwanghae-do Province. It was actively performed throughout the early 20th century, but lost ground when Japanese colonial rule began in 1910 and began to decline significantly in the 1930s. After World War Two broke out in 1939, it was no longer performed. Haeseo Talchum was revived in 1945 when Korea gained independence from Japan, but was discontinued once again due to the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950.

After the division of the Korean Peninsula into North and South following the Korean War, performers who had come South made collective efforts to restore the tradition of Haeseo Talchum. Around that time, a government-led movement to reconstruct traditional culture was implemented and masked dance-drama from different regions began to be restored. At that time, Haeseo Talchum performed in Bongsan, Gangnyeong, and Eunyu were restored.

The main themes of Haeseo Talchum include the following: first, a ritual to drive away evil spirits; second, ridicule of apostate Buddhist monks; third, insult and satire of noblemen, or *yangban*; fourth, tragedy arising from conflict among

husband, wife, and concubine; and the joys and sorrows of ordinary people's lives. The main features are the lively *hansamchum* and solemn *jangsamchum*, which display the local color of the northern parts of the country. *Hansamchum* is a dance where performers vigorously fling out their white sleeve extensions called *hansam* in the vibrant *dodeumsae* move. *Jangsamchum* is a dance where performers move slowly, swinging the ends of the long sleeves on their monastic robes called *jangsam*, made of kudzu hemp, over their heads, also in a lively *dodeumsae* move.

Jangsamchum is not found in Bongsang Talchum or Eunyul Talchum, whereas it is frequently performed in Gangnyeong Talchum and Haeju Talchum. This suggests that Haeseo Talchum featured a variety of local folk dance styles, depending on region. In Haeseo Talchum the originality of *hansamchum* and its contents are manifested in *mokjungchum* and *malttugichum*. For instance, whereas only one Malttugi (servant) appears in Bongsan Talchum or Eunyul Talchum, two Malttugi appear in Gangnyeong Talchum and Haeju Talchum, swinging clubs while dancing face to face, performing various dance moves.

The major elements impacting the form of dance in Haeseo Talchum are *jangdan* (rhythm patterns), costumes, and dance props that include a whip, a club, a fan, a cane, a cane with a bell, a metal staff with six rings (*yukbwanjang*), Buddhist prayer beads, a handkerchief, a twig, Chwibari's baby, the pole of a tutelary deity, a roll of long fabric called *sewangpil*, and a divine sword. The rhythms play a decisive role in the strength or weakness of movements according to stresses in the music and the form of the dance. As a part of the performer's costume, *hansam*, which are attached to a short coat called *deogeure* or the ends of a long monastic robe, respectively, are used to make a wide range of dance moves using the hands. The movement created by flinging out the long sleeve extensions and swinging the sleeves of the monastic robe, play a significant role in increasing the sense of rhythm and liveliness of the dance, thus enhancing its expressiveness. Made of a long, thin and light piece of cloth, *hansam* flutters about easily. As such, it is often used in creating swifter dance movements. On the contrary, *jangsam* is made of thick kudzu hemp cloth and the broad sleeves are generally used to create slow heavy dance movements.

The props used in dances are also as influential as rhythm and costume. The use of fans, large canes, and clubs that are mostly treated as stage props can help to increase the sense of rhythm and liveliness and greatly contribute to conveying the meaning contained in the dances. Also, they naturally link one dance movement with the next and also help to regulate the rise and fall of movements.

In particular, dance props help to enhance understanding and convey the meaning of story-oriented dramatic forms of dance.

The significance and function of dance in Haeseo Talchum are reflected in the ritual nature of life, spirituality, Buddhism, playfulness, artistry, the sense of space and time in the performance, instructiveness, and productivity. With regard to the popular consciousness of life, Haeseo Talchum, by expressing the vigorous spirit of the oppressed through dance, is intended to insult the ruling class and at the same time complain of an unjust society, thereby attempting to reform society. Such objectives are reflected in the feebleness and stupidity of the noblemen. On the contrary, Malttugi and Chwibari, representing the ordinary people, have high-spirited and progressive personalities. Not only by relieving the resentment of the oppressed, but also by expressing aesthetically the feelings of jubilation stoked by the will for freedom, the confrontational relationships between the ruling and ruled are expressed in a people's dance of liberation. In addition, Haeseo Talchum aims to promote reconciliation and harmony between the ruling class and the ruled with a view to positive influence on the future. It also promotes cooperation and progress among the members of local communities. The reunion of Yeonggam (old man) and Halmeom (his wife) reflects the duality of life with its joys and sorrows. In a fight, conflict is solved when the winner and the loser are determined. However, conflict sometimes reveals the essence of human affairs that bring about vengeance and resentment. The release of one's vengeance or grudges is expressed in the form of *gutchum*, the fundamental shamanic ritual dance performed by Koreans to pray for the future of the living.

That the dance forms of Haeseo Talchum are related to religious beliefs is evidenced by the great emphasis placed on ritual dance designed to drive away sundry evil spirits and thus purify the site of a performance. Haeseo Talchum also conveys religious meaning and function through ritual dance performed by Buddhist monks such as Noseung (old monk) or Mokjung (depraved monk). Buddhist or Buddhist-oriented dance that depict the spiritual practice of monks reveals a cross-section of the Buddhist faith. In Haeseo Talchum the popularization and propagation of Buddhism is expressed through dance. In contrast, it also contains the story of an old Buddhist monk who falls in love at first sight with a beautiful woman named Somu and becomes an apostate, revealing the immorality of Buddhism. In addition, Haeseo Talchum features ordinary people and Buddhist monks together, indirectly expressing Buddhist input in folk performances and the popularization of Buddhist ritual. Thus it can be said that

Korean masked dance-drama is a combination of Buddhist ritual and folk performances.

When it comes to the entertainment aspect, the authenticity of the performance is clearly shown in dances carried out as part of *gilnori*, the pre-performance street procession that is designed to gather an audience, or in dances such as *mutdongchum* (group dance of monks), *heoteunchum* (freestyle dance), or *sinpurichum* (exorcist dance), which are carried out during, *dwipuri* a post-performance celebration. Such post-performance celebrations, where performers and the audience mix together, are said to show an aspect of the way people play and enjoy themselves. Dances featured in street processions, which enhance the gaiety and induce the participation of the audience, have the same function. In addition, during the masked dance-drama performance, voiced interjections as well as freestyle dances also add to its festive nature.

Today Haeseo Talchum has been handed down with standardized dance movements. However, it was originally composed of improvised dances. Such improvisation suggests unrestricted dance movements, which serve as a major element leading to changes in dance moves. However, since the ruling aristocracy, influenced by Confucian ethics and morals, disparaged popular arts, including *talchum* or *pansori*, which were performed among the ordinary people during the Joseon period, socially accepted stages could not be provided. Therefore, traditional masked dance-drama performances were held in open yards or outdoors, which allowed both performers and audiences to enjoy improvisation and helped *talchum* to evolve into a performance that gave participants a sense of unity. Therefore, masked dance-drama invites audiences to naturally become part of the performance, allowing them to contribute to the dances as well as the lines spoken.

Haeseo Talchum contains great artistic value. A wide range of types of dance and complicated, exquisite dance movements that require artistic skill and technique are performed. Although masked dance-drama was a public performance by young and middle-aged villagers who were not professional dancers, the choreographed dances and dance techniques are not the type easily performed by dancers without artistic talent. For this reason, the dancers must have been talented artistically. In addition, they would have honed their skills and refined the artistic beauty of the performance to ensure the success of their performances before a big audience.

The instructive nature of Haeseo Talchum is found in dances that emphasize

ethics: the lion dance, or *sajachum*, which has a story of threatening humans who do evil, and dances telling the story of a lion assimilated into human society. In addition, Chwibari's child is educated and raised through dance, suggesting that dances in masked dance-drama have an educational function. Meanwhile, productivity is of great importance. The dance of unity performed by Yeonggam and his concubine symbolizes fertility. The scene where Somu gives birth to Chwibari's baby after she has intimate relations with him represents human life and reproduction. On the other hand, dances performed by Miyalhalmeom (old woman) or Noseung (old monk), which do not represent reproduction, show the duality of what can be done and what cannot, by means of dance.

Dance in Haeseo Talchum functions to connect the lines spoken by one performer with those of another. For instance, in one of the scenes in the Yangban and Malttugi act where the nobleman and the servant exchange confrontational remarks, the story does not seem to move forward. However, the dances *yangbanchum* and *malttugichum*, performed by the Yangban and Malttugi as they face each other, naturally connect the lines spoken by different actors and facilitate development of the story. In addition, through the movements of the performers, dance functions as a means to vent the anger of the oppressed toward the ruling classes and express social contradictions, which cannot be conveyed in words. The underlying resentment in the actors' dialogue is freely expressed through dance. To depict the feelings of resentment and the joys and sorrows of life that could not be expressed by commoners, the performers in masks who are members of society in reality serve as representatives of the commoners who transcend social class and status in the performance. The dance in which performers jump over a bonfire in the middle of the site in the darkness of night can be understood as a way to release the commoners' pent up emotions.

In Haeseo Talchum, dance also expresses the contradictions of the social structure and human psychology in a satirical and humorous manner. This can be seen in the fact that the dance itself is symbolic and its method of expression very intense. Strong hand movements and footwork also reflect this aspect of Haeseo Talchum. These objectives can all be served in Haeseo Talchum because the actors are wearing masks that can depict a wide range of expressions through varied dance movements. It is no exaggeration to say that the role of dance in masked dance-drama is, above all, focused on exposing the contradictions of an ugly society and venting the oppressed feelings of the people. This aspect is evident in the bold aggressive movements of the dances. In this sense, *talchum* is a

performance of the people and a strong expression of the will of commoners to transcend reality and achieve reform.

This is manifest in the dance movement called *kochagi*, or kicking the nose, in Gangnyeong Talchum. This movement depicts rising from the earth up to the sky and then coming back down to earth, which symbolizes movement toward a transcendental world and returning to reality. It is a dance movement that suggests masked dance-drama encompasses the realistic and unworldly alike.

Songpa Sandaenori

송파산대놀이

Masked dance-drama traditionally performed at the Songpanaru river port.

A type of a masked dance-drama originating in *sandaenori* from various parts of Seoul, including Aeogae, Gupabal, and Noryangjin, and performed at Songpanaru (river port).

Songpa Sandaenori was originally passed down at Songpanaru (formerly Songpajin, currently the area near Jamsil Bridge). Songpanaru was one of the five ports along the Hangang River, including Songpa, Hangang, Seobinggo, Yong-san, and Mapo. The Songpa port was also where the Songpa market was held as one of the 15 largest *hyangsi* (Kor. 향시, Chin. 鄉市, lit. local market) throughout the country in the latter half of the Joseon period. It was also a center of water transportation with vessels shuttling to and from the western sea and Gangwon-do Province, as well as overland transportation for peddlers on horseback traveling around the country. The Songpa market thrived with some 270 *gaekjujip*⁶ and was crowded with merchants and their goods, not just on market day but also the day before and the day after.

Songpa at that time was a commercial town where goods from other regions were gathered and were always sold first. It was the strongest commercial town

in the suburbs of Seoul and posed a threat to the privileged commerce of the capital. According to *Mangiyoram* (*Book of Ten Thousand Techniques of Governance*) compiled in 1809 (9th year of the reign of King Sunjo), Songpa was a rich commercial town whose market ranked first among the 1,061 local markets nationwide. For this reason, Songpa had the economic conditions to fund performance of the masked dance-drama Songpa Sandaenori. When the market was thriving, there were rich merchants and sundry jobs, such as *malgamgo* (Kor. 말감고, a person who measured grains by the traditional unit *mal*), *imbangkkun* (Kor. 임방꾼, stevedores), messengers and errand boys, tavern owners, shipping agents (who stored cargo on the floor), sailors, tobacco processing merchants, firewood and charcoal sellers, and cattle dealers. With the donations that the merchants collected, Songpa was able to hold wrestling matches, tightrope walking performances, and *sandaenori* performances on annual holidays, big and small, and on market days. Supplies of Gyeonggi, charcoal, tobacco, cattle, vegetables, and grains all passed through Songpanaru on their way to Seoul. The market was so big that there was a saying, “Even a honey jar passes through Songpa before being presented to the king.” This background and the merchants’ financial support enabled Songpa Sandaenori to thrive.

However, the great flood on the Hangang River in July 1925 swept away Songpanaru and the whole village without leaving a trace, and turned the area into a sandy beach. A monument to record the flood was set up beside Garak-dong Office (formerly Songpa-myeon Office, Gwangju-gun). The inscription on the monument says, “The water rose to 48 *cheok* [approx. 16 m] and carried away 273 houses,” and from this we can estimate the extent of damage the flood inflicted on the area. Afterwards, the villagers moved to the current Garak-dong area and held *sandaenori* performances once or twice, but the masked dance-drama was soon discontinued. Beginning in the early 1930s, Han Yuseong and Yi Beomman, who were residents of Dolma-ri (or Seokchon-ri), restored the masked dance-drama after learning it from Yoon Jonghyeon, who had performed it in Songpa. However, the performance was once again discontinued at the end of the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910–1945), then held a few times after the liberation, but was stopped again. Led by Heo Hyeong from Songpa, the performance was restored in the 1960s and designated as Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 49 in 1973. The Songpa Sandaenori Preservation Association was organized and in 1984 it established Seoul Norimadang and the Training Center for Songpa Sandaenori in Jamsil-dong, Songpa-gu, Seoul. Thanks to

these efforts, Songpa Sandaenori has been handed down to the present.

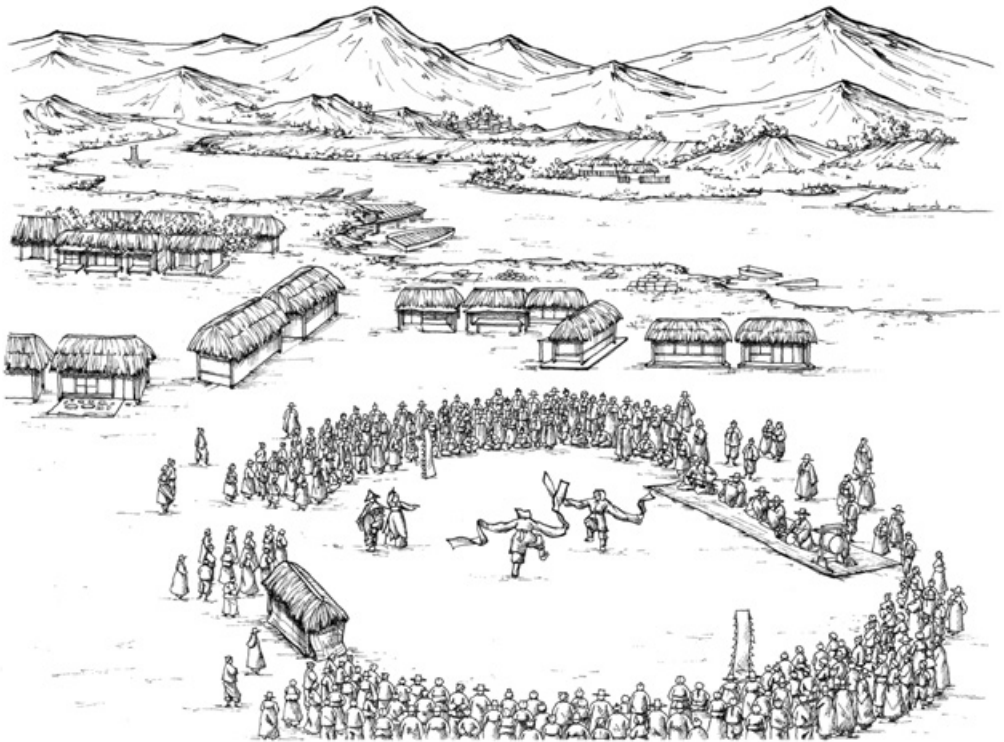
Songpa Sandaenori is a type of masked dance-drama formed against the background of Songpa market, which was one of the wealthy commercial towns in the modern period of Korea. As to when the performances were held, Songpa Sandaenori was performed mostly on traditional Korean festive days, including Daeboreum (first full moon day of the year, falling on the fifteenth day of the first month), Buddha's birthday, Dano, Baekjung, and Chuseok. At times, masked dance-drama was performed to boost business when market sales were slow.

At Baekjung, the merchants raised funds to hold masked dance-drama for a week, and it is said, "They walked on a tightrope, held wrestling matches, and performed *sandaenori* to boost the market." Baekjung (fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month) was a huge communal festival where all 11 villages in Jungdae-myeon (current Songpa-gu District) gathered together. On this day, messengers were sent to Gupabal, Nodeul (Norayngjin), Toegyewon, and other areas to invite famous performers to the festival.

In the olden days, Songpa Sandaenori was performed in a wide space in the market marked out with stakes driven in the ground with straw ropes tied around them. Seats for the musicians (*aksa*) were prepared on one side to play traditional Korean string and wind ensemble music, while a passage for performers and Gaebokcheong (Kor. 개복청, Chin. 改服廳, lit. changing room) were temporarily installed on the other side. The musicians' section was created with a straw mat spread on the ground covered with a tent of cotton cloth. The changing room was built by creating a room with four posts driven in the ground and screens woven with millet stalks hung between them and covered with a roof. In general, a pre-performance was held during the daytime with traditional Korean folk games, traditional songs, and acrobatics, including *ssireum*, swinging, singing, and acrobatics. *Gilnori* (street procession) was also held with *pungmulnori* (farmer's percussion music and dance), *yeondeung* (lotus lanterns), and costume processions. The masked dance-drama started at dusk, and the lighting was generally provided by torches or a bonfire. When there was a lotus lantern procession, the lanterns were used for lighting.

The street procession was performed prior to the main performance: wearing masks and costumes, the flag bearers of Songpa Sandaenori and *ssangyeonggi*⁸ (Kor. 쌍영기, Chin. 雙令旗, lit. twin command flags) head the procession, marching ahead to the accompaniment of military music. They are followed by two

hojeok (conical oboe, a.k.a. *taepyeongso*) players and musicians; then by a long line of performers; and lastly by Waejangnyeo (tavern owner) or Haesaneomeom (midwife), who shakes her bottom and bares her belly as she dances to make the spectators laugh. The street procession functions to advertise the masked dance-drama performance and is also intended to drive away miscellaneous ghosts and pray for peace and a good harvest while going around the village. When the procession is over and all participants return to the performance venue, they carry out *seomakgosa* (Kor. 서막고사, Chin. 序幕告祀, lit. prelude rite). For this rite, a straw mat is spread on the ground and a ritual table is set with offerings of food for the spirits in order to avoid misfortune and bring good luck. The offerings include a steamed ox head (or pig's head), fruits of three different colors, steamed rice cake, and wine, which are arranged on the table according to the principles of the rite, and the masks are placed in front of the offerings. The master of the rite places a small cup of wine on the table, makes a deep bow, recites a written prayer, burns the prayer paper, then makes another bow. The other performers, standing behind the master of the rite, bow together. After the rite, they all par-



Songpa Sandaenori | National Folk Museum of Korea



take of the sacrificial food and drink, then begin performing the masked dance-drama.

The first act of the masked dance-drama is performed by Sangjwa (novice monk). The first novice monk appears and stands in the center of the stage with hands together, then begins to dance, alternately bowing with the hands together and striking the four directions to the *yeombul jangdan* (Buddhist chanting rhythm). The novice monk dances *palttukjabi*, *hwajangmu* (a type of hand movement), and long *yeodajichum* to the slow *taryeong jangdan*, then sits on one side while dancing *kkaekkichum* to the *jajin taryeong jangdan*. These dances are significant as a religious ritual to purify the performance space. The second novice monk appears from the other side, and signaling for the *taryeong jangdan*, dances facing the first novice monk while lifting the knees up and down, then the first novice monk leaves. The second act is played by Omjung (apostate monk with scabies) and Meokjung (depraved monk). Omjung strikes *jegeum* (small cymbals, a.k.a. *bara*) and appears running. Surprised at this, the second novice monk stops dancing and snatches the cymbals from Omjung, then dances with him face to face and is then chased away. Signaling for the *yeombul jangdan*, Omjung dances *geodeureumchum* (haughty dance), featuring movements such as taking three steps forward and then backward and *yongteurimchum* (dragon belching dance). At this, Meokjung comes forward and starts a quarrel, scratching Omjung on the face, then leaves while dancing to the *taryeong jangdan*. The threatening Omjung mask is considered to drive away evil spirits and bad luck.

The third act is performed by Yeonnip (monk wearing a lotus leaf mask) and Nunkkeumjeogi (blinking monk). The two monks appear, each covering his face with a folding fan. Although they came from noble families, they could not take the national exams for civil service due to their facial defects. At this time, three monks among the Palmeokjung (eight depraved monks) enter the stage from the opposite side. While dancing, they recognize Yeonnip and Nunkkeumjeogi, and dance with them. The third act shows that even those estranged from noble society are embraced by the common people. On the other hand, in Yangju Byeolsandaenori and Toegyewon Sandaenori, Yeonnip is a deity of heaven and Nunkkeumjeogi is a deity of the earth. The two monks exercise divine powers to drive away the apostate monks who have violated the Buddhist precepts.

The fourth act is *buk nori* (drum performance) by Aesadang, daughter of the tavern owner Waejangnyeo. One Meokjung (depraved monk) holds a drum and when other Meokjung holding the drum stick tries to hit it, the monk holding

the drum dodges this way and that. At this time, Waejangnyeo appears with her daughter Aesadang. Meokjung offers a bundle of coins to the tavern owner, requesting that her daughter play the drum. This act depicts how corrupt the monks are by showing a scene in which the depraved monks seduce the woman and her daughter to engage in prostitution.

The fifth act is a satire played by Palmeokjung (eight depraved monks), who are flogged by the chief monk as a punishment for their corruption and neglect of chanting the name of the Buddha.

The sixth act is the acupuncture act, or *chimnori*, played by the oriental doctor named Sinjubu. A depraved monk, Meokjung, collapses from acute indigestion, and when singing “Baekgu Taryeong” (“Song of the White Gull”) cannot heal him because the acupuncture point just below the ankle bone is blocked, the other depraved monks call in the acupuncturist Sinjubu. Wearing a traditional white overcoat and a hood, Sinjubu enters the scene and applies acupuncture on *sagwan*⁹ (Kor. 사관, Chin. 四關, lit. four gates), where there are five acupuncture points, and saves the life of the collapsed monk. This act portrays a society where ordinary people had difficulties in obtaining enough to eat.

The seventh act is performed by Nojang (old monk). The old monk is ridiculed by the depraved monks when they discover who the old monk is. To the *gutgeori jangdan* the eight depraved monks grab the old monk's six-ringed cane and drag him onto the center of the stage to laugh at him as he lays down with his face to the ground. The depraved monks, looking at the old monk lying down, say that he is a fish. Hitting him on the back, they suggest chopping him into pieces to eat, and make an exit while dancing. Soon after, two tavern women called Somu appear, and standing on either side of the stage they dance *jarachum* (turtle dance) to the *yeombul jangdan* to seduce the old monk. Nojang dances *bongmu* (Kor. 복무, Chin. 伏舞, lit. prostrate dance), which is presented while lying with his face to the ground, and then rises to his feet relying on the walking stick. Taking a look at the tavern women on either side, he falls in love with Somu at first sight. Throwing away the stick, he approaches the women, who reject him. Nojang takes off his string of Buddhist beads and hangs it around the neck of Somu, who takes it off and throws it away. Angry at this, the old monk throws the string of beads on the ground, takes off his Buddhist robe and long overcoat, comes forward and squats down to brush his teeth and wash his face. Looking into the mirror, he combs his hair. Taking out gambling cards called *tujeon*, he pretends to gamble, then smacks his knee and looks back at Somu.



Nojang nori | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

Noticing that the old monk has won money from gambling, the tavern women beckon him. Nojang goes up to them and puts his monastic robes on them.

The eighth act features Sinjangsu, a shoe seller. Nojang buys shoes on credit for Somu from the shoe seller. Although the shoe seller sends a monkey to make the monk pay for the shoes, the monkey makes fun of the women and comes back in vain. Angry at this, the shoe seller chases the monkey away.

The ninth act is performed by Chwibari, an old bachelor. When Chwibari appears and sees the monk flirting with two Somu (tavern women), he drives the old monk away with a leafy branch. Dodging the branch, Nojang carries one of the two Somu on his back and makes an exit. Chwibari enjoys dancing with the Somu left behind and enjoys himself with her. She falls pregnant and when Chwibari sees her groaning in labor, he calls for the midwife Haesaneomeom. The midwife appears dancing and swaying her bottom, carrying a bundle of straw on her head to prepare a temporary mat for the birth. The midwife takes the baby from beneath Somu's skirt, hands the baby to Chwibari and then exits with Somu. Chwibari names the child, helps him urinate, and teaches him how to read and write with textbooks such as *Cheonjapuri* (Kor. 천자풀이, *Song of a Thousand Chinese Characters*) and *Eonmun Duipuri* (Kor. 언문뒤풀이, *Repetition of*



Songpa Sandaenori masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

the Korean Alphabet) and how to sing songs such as “Gakseori Taryeong” (Kor. 각설이타령, “Song of a Beggar”) so that he can make a living.

The tenth act features Saennim (feeble old scholar) and Malttugi (servant). Saennim, the married nobleman Seobangnim, and the bachelor nobleman Doryeonnim appear, bringing the servant Malttugi with them, and order Malttugi to set up a cloth tent *uimak* (Kor. 의막, Chin. 依幕). Soettugi, a friend of Malttugi, suggests a pig pen for a makeshift dwelling to satirize the noblemen.

The eleventh act features Saennim, Miyalhalmi (old woman), and Podobujang (young policeman). Saennim and his wife, Miyalhalmi, reunite in this act after separation, but the old woman leaves home again due to conflict with Somu, her husband’s concubine. However, the weak old scholar loses his concubine to the physically strong and young Podobujang.

The twelfth act features Sinharabi (old man) and Sinhalmi (old woman). The two appear together but then the old woman dies. The following scene shows that the old man calls in his son, Dokki, and his daughter, Dokkinui, who had left home, and the family holds a funeral for the old woman. As the wife of Sinharabi, Sinhalmi has a distinctive mask that distinguishes her from Miyalhalmi in Yangju Byeolsandaenori. Also, Songpa Sandaenori has a separate shaman character.

Songpa Sandaenori uses two types of music: one is marching music played for the street procession and the other, musical accompaniment played during the masked dance-drama performance. The former is played by a military



marching band, consisting of a pair of conical oboes, barrel drum, hourglass-shaped drum and cymbals. The latter is played to accompany dances by a traditional wind and string ensemble called *sambyeonyukgak* comprising the barrel drum, hourglass-shaped drum, two bamboo flutes, and a two-stringed fiddle to rhythms such as the long *yeombul jangdan*, *heotteun taryeong jangdan*, and *gutgeori jangdan*.

Songpa Sandaenori features dance movements such as *geodeureumchum* performed to the *yeombul jangdan*, *kkaekkichum* to the *taryeong jangdan*, and *geondeureongchum* to the *gutgeori jangdan*.

Songpa Sandaenori, a traditional masked dance-drama derived from *bonsandaenori*, offered outstanding performances among the *sandaenori* in the Seoul region, capitalizing on the economic prosperity of a commercial town that thrived in the suburbs of Seoul in the second half of the Joseon period. Songpa Sandaenori and Yangju Byeolsandaenori have been handed down as extant masked dance-drama performed in the Seoul and Gyeonggi region. Songpa Sandaenori was popular at the port and was staged by a troupe of masked dance-drama performers called *takkunpae*, and Yangju Byeolsandaenori by low-ranking officials and servants. Toegyewon Sandaenori was recently restored and designated as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Gyeonggi-do Province.

Songpa Sandaenori was a magnificent, large-scale performance thanks to the strong financial support of wealthy merchants at the port. However, it had many different characteristics from the other masked dance-dramas because the

interests of the merchants wishing for good business were reflected in it. Looking at those characteristics, first the performances were actually led by the merchants who pooled resources to fund them. Second, Baekjung in July, a relatively slack season for farmers, was selected as the time to hold the performance to draw merchants and peddlers. Third, the performance time was moved up from night to daytime for the benefit of tradespeople from other regions. Fourth, less importance was attached to the street procession, which was not closely related to the market people from other regions. Fifth, famous professional performers were invited to ensure the success of the performance. Sixth, the marketplace was chosen as the performance venue, a change from previous places such as empty lots in the village, the foot of a mountain, or riverside. Seventh, as the performance was large in scale to keep order a boundary rope was hung, a marquee was put up for cover, and a passage for entry and exit was made.

When compared to Haeseo Talchum, including the masked dance-dramas performed in Bongsan, Gangnyeong, and Eunyu, the characteristics of *sandaenori* dance movements are as follows: First, the dance movements are refined and diverse. Second, the movements are calm rather than dynamic. Third, dances performed to the *yeombul jangdan* are well developed. Fourth, the arm movements feature more hand movements than *hansamchum*, dance using long sleeve extensions called *hansam*. Fifth, it has more *dapjimu* (Kor. 답지무, Chin. 踏地舞, lit. ground-stomping dance) than *doyangmu* (Kor. 도약무, Chin. 跳躍舞, lit. jumping dance).

Songpa Sandaenori and Yangju Byeolsandaenori have a lot of common dance movements as both masked dance-dramas are derived from *sandaenori*, but there are many differences as well. While the most basic movement of *kkaekkichum*, a dance where the knees are lifted up and down, is called *kkaekki* (or *baegineunchum*) in Yangju Byeolsandaenori, this same movement is called *hwajangmu* or *jajinhwajang* in Songpa Sandaenori. So while the basic dances are the same the details may differ. Also, Yangju Byeolsandaenori and Songpa Sandaenori have similar basic dance movements: Yangju Byeolsandaenori consists of basic dance movements such as *eokkaechum* (lit. shoulder dance), *kkaekki*, *kkaekkiri*, *meongseongmari* (lit. mat-rolling), *gopsawi*, *yeodaji*, *neowuljil*, *bissawigeoreum*, and *gogaejabi*; and Songpa Sandaenori is composed of basic dance movements in the order of *geondeureongmeokgi*, *hwajangmu*, *jajinhwajang*, *gopsawi*, *geondeureong*, *yeodaji*, *baechigi kkaekkiri*, *geoulbogi* (lit. looking at the mirror) and *meongseongmari*. This means that although it is less developed in dances performed

to the *yeombul jangdan* than Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Songpa Sandaenori is more developed in dances to the *taryeong jangdan*. In particular, *hwajangmu*, a dance performed to the slow *taryeong jangdan* in Songpa Sandaenori, makes up for the lack of dance movements performed to the *yeombul jangdan*. Yangju Byeolsandaenori has no jumping dance other than the monkey walk performed to the *jajin taryeong jangdan*, but Songpa Sandaenori features the hopping walk of the old bachelor Chwibari and the servant Malttugi, a type of jumping dance movement, and thus clearly exhibits the personalities of its characters. Evidently, Yangju Byeolsandaenori has more developed *geodeureumchum* performed to the *yeombul jangdan* while Songpa Sandaenori has more developed *kkaekkichum* performed to the *taryeong jangdan*.

Although it is similar to Yangju Byeolsandaenori in terms of composition and content, Songpa Sandaenori is handed down with the twelve acts of *sandaenori* intact. In addition, although the two masked dance-dramas use the same type of gourd masks, Songpa Sandaenori has a total of 32 masks, preserving most of the masks and characters of *sandaenori* managed by Sandae Dogam (government agency responsible for affairs regarding masked dance-dramas), including Haesaneomeom (midwife), Sinhalmi (old woman), and Mudang (shaman), which have disappeared from Yangju Byeolsandaenori. Therefore, it can be said that Songpa Sandaenori has maintained more of the original masks than Yangju Byeolsandaenori. Songpa Sandaenori holds great significance in that it carries on the typical dance tradition of the central part of Korea, while the dance movements have become sub-divided in diverse ways to number more than 40 different types.

6. Guest houses run by commission agents who sold commodities on consignment or as brokers while providing accommodation for merchants or peddlers from other regions during the Joseon period.
7. Rice produced in Gyeonggi-do Province.

8. The two flags have the same Chinese character *yeong* (令), meaning "command," written on them.
9. *Sagwan* refers to five acupuncture points on the elbow and below the knees.

Toegyewon Sandaenori

퇴계원산대놀이

Masked dance-drama from the Toegyewon area in Gyeonggi-do Province.

A type of masked dance-drama that originated in *sandaenori* handed down in the Toegyewon area of Namyangju, Gyeonggi-do Province.

Toegyewon Sandaenori was performed mostly at Jeongwol Daeboreum (first full moon day of the year), Buddha's birthday (eighth day of the fourth month), Dano (fifth day of the fifth month), Baekjung (fifteenth day of the seventh month), and Chuseok (fifteenth day of the eighth month) as well as during the farming off-season in spring.

Toegyewon Sandaenori is a masked dance-drama featuring characters common to *bonsandaenori*: apostate monks, fallen noblemen, servants, Yeonggam (old man), Halmi (old woman), concubines, and female entertainers (*sadang*), who make satirical remarks that disclose the realities of society, making the audience laugh and cry. This masked dance-drama consists of 12 acts in all.

Act 1: This act is the dance of two Sangjwa (novice monk), one about 8 to 9 years old, and the other about 15 to 16 years old. They perform a ritual dance to pray for the safety of the performers and the audience and to ward off evil spirits from the performance space. The monks bow with hands together towards the four cardinal points to greet the gods that govern the four directions.

Act 2: This act is performed by Omjung and Sangjwa, with the novice monk Sangjwa trying to snatch away a pair of sticks called *yangbong* (Kor. 양봉, Chin. 兩棒) and *jegeum*, small cymbals, from Omjung, an apostate monk with scabies. Wearing a dark gray monastic robe (*jangsam*) and a hat made from the mat placed at the bottom of a steamer, Omjung dances playfully and excitedly, holding the pair of sticks and the cymbals. The sticks are used when hitting *mogeo*¹⁰ (Kor. 목어, lit. wooden fish). The cymbals are also an important musical instrument for Buddhist ceremonies. The novice monk takes away these instruments, and the apostate monk Omjung dances *kkaekkichum*, lifting his knees up and down.

Act 3: When Omjung has almost finished dancing *kkaekkichum*, the de-



Toegyewon Sandaenori | National Folk Museum of Korea

praved monk Meokjung appears and hurls a barrage of disparaging remarks at Omjung about his face marked by scabies. Meokjung is curious about the hat Omjung wears and the ornaments on it. While checking what they are, the two monks start an argument, their quarrels about the appearance of Omjung's face eventually leading to a physical scuffle.

Act 4: This act is played by Yeonnip, a deity of heaven, and Nunkkeumjeogi, a deity of the earth. Yeonnip, the monk wearing a lotus-shaped mask to prevent killing those who see his glaring eyes, and the blinking monk Nunkkeumjeogi drive away all the depraved monks, including Omjung and Meokjung. Yeonnip, in addition to his lotus-shaped mask, wears a blue robe with a lotus blossom on the back, and holds a rugosa rose. Nunkkeumjeogi wears a mask designed so that the eyes blink, a Buddhist robe and an overcoat. The depraved monk characters, include Wanbo, Won Meokjung, Omjung, and four other Meokjung, who appear with the second novice monk.

Act 5: In this act, *chimmori* (acupuncture) is performed by Sinjubu, an oriental doctor who saves Omjung, Meokjung, and Sangiwa by applying acupuncture when they collapse. Won Meokjung appears dancing *kkaekkichum* with Omjung,

Meokjung, and Sangjwa. While dancing, Omjung, Meokjung, and Sangjwa collapse due to sudden indigestion, called *gwangyeok*¹¹ (Kor. 관격, Chin. 關格). Surprised at this, Won Meokjung calls Wanbo for help, but then Wanbo asks the oriental doctor Sinjubu to apply acupuncture to them. Saved by Sinjubu's acupuncture, the three monks dance and make an exit.

Act 6: This act is the dance of Aesadang, daughter of tavern owner Waejangnyeo. As Aesadang dances and plays the *buk* (barrel drum), Wanbo and Won Meokjung argue spiritedly about who is more handsome. When Palmeokjung (eight depraved monks) hold a big performance in the village playing *pungmul* (farmer's percussion music), Waegangnyeo and Aesadang come to watch the show. Enthralled by Aesadang, the depraved monks make a deal with the tavern owner and buy her daughter to make her a member of the troupe of itinerant entertainers called *sadangpae*. After entering her in the troupe, they perform a merry drum dance. Excited by the dance, Won Meokjung snatches the drum stick from Aesadang and attempts to play the drum himself. At this, another depraved monk, Wanbo, takes the drum away from Won Meokjung and makes a fool of him.

Act 7: This act is performed by Palmeokjung and Nojang (old monk). When the eight depraved monks come down from the temple to the village and behave in a way that goes against the Buddhist teachings, Nojang comes down too, meaning to scold them. However, even the old monk breaks the Buddhist precepts in the end. When the eight depraved monks violate the Buddhist precepts dancing *kkaekkichum*, Wanbo scolds them. At this time, the old monk Nojang appears and the eight monks are frightened to see that he has followed them. When the playful Omjung interferes with him, Nojang orders Omjung to lie down with his face to the ground and flogs him. At this, the depraved monks lead Nojang to violate the precepts. Eventually, fascinated by the two young women called Somu, Nojang becomes an apostate monk.

Act 8: This act is performed by Sinjangsu, the shoe seller. The apostate old monk Nojang buys a pair of shoes for Somu. Here, a monkey good at mimicking people appears, adding fun and humor to this act. Wearing *kwaeja* (long sleeveless vest) in yellowish green and *paeraengi* (traditional bamboo hat), Sinjangsu sells shoes carrying the monkey caged in a box. As the old monk comes to buy *kkotssin*¹² (lit. flower shoes), the shoe seller makes the monkey bargain with the monk about the price. Nojang buys two pairs of flower shoes and has the two Somu wear them, but when the monkey fails to get paid by the old monk, Sin-



Omjung Sangjiwa nori | Namyangju in Gyeonggi-do Province | 2003 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Meokjung nori | Namyangju in Gyeonggi-do Province | 2003 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Aesadang nori | Namyangju in Gyeonggi-do Province | 2011 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Podobujang nori | Namyangju in Gyeonggi-do Province | 2010 | National Folk Museum of Korea

jangsu becomes upset and hits the monkey and drives him away.

Act 9: This act is performed by Chwibari, an old bachelor, who takes Somu away from the apostate old monk Nojang, then chases the old monk away. Chwibari is a middle-aged bachelor and jobless nobleman who has already failed the state civil service exams a few times. He takes away one of the two Somu and she gives birth to his son, named Madangi. Nojang runs away with the other Somu.

Act 10: This act is performed by Malttugi, servant of the feeble old scholar Saennin who looks for lodgings for the noblemen when they go to Hanyang (today's Seoul) to take the state civil service exams. This act consists mainly of mockery and satire of the noblemen. Unaware of the sun setting while watching *sandaegut*, a type of shaman rite, Saennim and his company have the servant Malttugi find lodgings for the night, but to no avail. Then they meet another servant Soettugi. Soettugi suggests a pigpen for lodgings and leads the scholar and his company into one. Indignant at this, Saennim gives Malttugi and Soettugi a good scolding, but he is ridiculed by the servants.

Act 11: This act is played by Podobujang, a young young policeman. Saennim, a cleft-lipped scholar who bought his government position, brings in his young concubine Somu. Thinking that the scholar does not deserve the concubine, Podobujang takes Somu away from him.

Act 12: This act is performed by Sinharabi and Miyalhalmi. The old man Sinharabi and the old woman Miyalhalmi have a dramatic reunion after being separated, but the old man abuses the old woman to death and conducts a shaman rite to comfort her soul. The old man strolls in carrying a walking stick and comes across the old woman who walks with a cane too. They bump into each other and recognize each other. However, when the old man mistreats the old woman, she gets angry and sad. While hitting herself on the chest, she collapses and dies. Confirming the death of his wife, Miyalhalmi, Sinharabi calls in their children, Dokki and Dokkinui, to mourn her death. After holding a funeral for her, the family calls in a shaman to conduct *georigut* (shaman rite) to comfort the soul of the old woman.

10. An instrument for Buddhist rituals consisting of dragon-shaped wooden head that is hollowed out.

11. Accompanies symptoms of continued vomiting and failure to urinate.

12. Traditional Korean women's shoes decorated with flower patterns.

Yangju Byeolsandaenori

양주별산대놀이

Sandaenori-type masked dance-drama from the central part of Korea.

One of the major types of *sandaenori* that was formed in the central region of Korea some 200 years ago under the influence of *bonsandaenori* performed in Seoul.

Yangju Byeolsandaenori is based on a type of masked dance-drama called *bonsandaenori* performed in the Seoul region, and was re-presented in the local area in the 18th to mid-19th centuries. It is known that Yangju invited *bonsandaenori* troupes to perform there in the early 1600s, immediately after the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-98).

The performance of Yangju Byeolsandaenori was forcibly stopped at the end of the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945), but after liberation it was restored as an event of the spring Dano festival. However, the masked dance-drama suffered a blow during the Korean War when its masks were destroyed and many of its performers died. In 1964, a landslide swept away the area around the shrine Sajikdang, where the masks, costumes, and other props for the masked dance-drama were kept. In December that year, however, Yangju Byeolsandaenori was designated Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 2 and eight performers as masters succeeding the art. Afterwards, the Yangju Byeolsandaenori Preservation Association was incorporated and a training center was established to hand down the masked dance-drama. Thanks to this systematic training and regular performances on stage, Yangju Byeolsandaenori has been actively passed down.

Following the *gilnori* (street procession) and a prelude shaman rite, Yangju Byeolsandaenori proceeds in the order of Act 1 Sangjwachum, Act 2 Omjungchum, Act 3 Omjung and Meokjung, Act 4 Yeonnip and Nunkkeumjeogi, Act 5 Scene 1 Yeombulnori, Scene 2 Chimnori, Scene 3 Aesadang's Beopgonori, Act 6 Scene 1 Pagyeseungnori, Scene 2 Sinjangsunori, Scene 3 Chwibarinori, Act 7 Scene 1 Uimaksaryeongnori, Scene 2 Podobujangnori, Act 8 Sinharabi and



Yangju Byeolsandaenori masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

Miyalhalmi. The masked dance-drama is performed in the following order with the main characters in each act.

1. Gilnori and prelude rite

Flag bearers, masked performers, and musicians walk in single file around the village, visiting houses to beg for grains (*geollip*). Next, they return to the performance space and have a round of play. With the masks arranged in front, they hold a rite as a prelude to the main show.

2. Act 1: *Sangjwachum* (dance of the novice monk)

The first Sangjiwa (novice monk) appears, and in the center of the stage makes a bow with the hands together (*hapjangjaebae*) and offers a ritual dance to the heavenly gods (*cheonsinjaebae*), followed by various dances, including *sabangchigichum* (dancing while bowing in turn in all four directions). Next, the second Sangjiwa appears and repeats the same dance movements as a ritual to expel ghosts.

3. Act 2: Omjung and Sangjiwa

Omjung (apostate monk with scabies) and Sangjiwa appear, each holding a stick and *jegeum* (a.k.a. *bara*, small cymbals), and try to snatch at what the other holds.

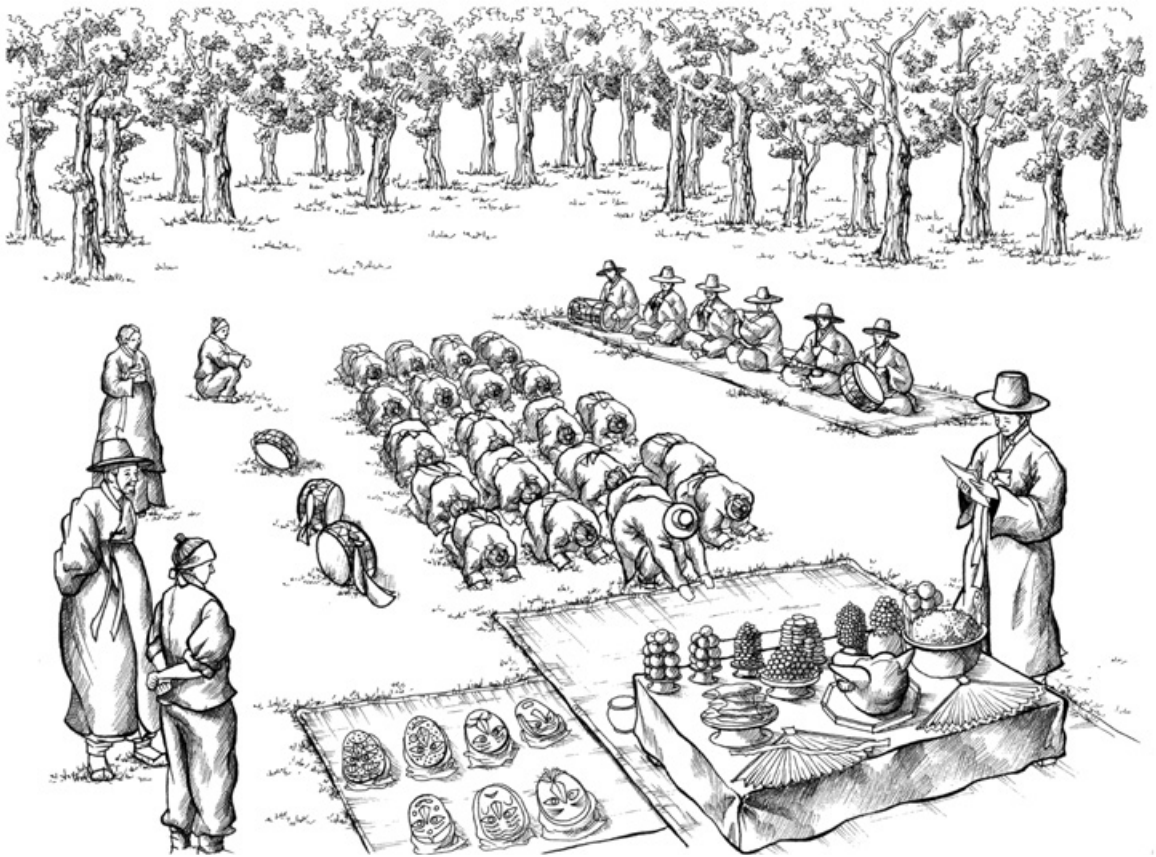
After fighting for a while, the novice monk is forced out by the apostate monk.

4. Act 3: Omjung and Meokjung

Omjung appears and, striking Meokjung on the face, he mocks his own appearance and garments, including his face covered scabies and the shabby felt hat that he wears. Later on, Omjung is driven away by Meokjung, then the first Meokjung and the second Meokjung appear and dance together.

5. Act 4: Yeonnip and Nunkkeumjeogi

Yeonnip (monk wearing a lotus leaf mask) appears covering his face with a folding fan and Nunkkeumjeogi with the sleeves of his monastic robes. Omjung and Meokjung approach them in turn to identify who they are. Yeonnip dances with



Yangju Byeolsandaenori | National Folk Museum of Korea

the folding fan, while Nunkkeumjeogi (blinking monk) chases after Meokjung and they dance together.

6. Act 5: Palmeokjungnori (performance of eight depraved monks)

Scene 1. *Yeombulnori* (Buddhist chanting): Led by Wanbo, the eight depraved monks appear on the scene and announce that they are, in fact, womanizers although they look like monks. Reciting a Buddhist chant, they make vulgar remarks as word play, unfitting to their status as monks, and sing “Baekgu Taryeong” (“Song of the White Gull”).

Scene 2. *Chimnori* (acupuncture): Saying that one of his children suddenly collapsed while watching the masked dance-drama with him, Meokjung asks Wanbo and Sinjubu for help. Wanbo attempts to save the child by singing “Song of the White Gull” but to no avail. Then the oriental doctor, Sinjubu, feels the pulse of the depraved monk’s son and saves his life with acupuncture.

Scene 3. Aesadang’s *beopgonori* (Buddhist drumming): Paid by the depraved monk Meokjung, the tavern owner Waejangnyeo makes her daughter Aesadang attend on him. When Aesadang dances while playing the Buddhist drum, *beop-go*, Meokjung, finding fault with her, takes the drum away and drives her away. Playing the drum, Meokjung and Wanbo joke around and make fun of each other.

7. Act 6: Nojang (old monk)

Scene 1. *Pagyeseungnori* (performance of the apostate monk): The old monk Nojang appears covering his face with a folding fan, and bringing the novice monk Sangjiwa with him. Then, the eight depraved monks, including Wanbo, approach the old monk, one by one, to identify who he is. They make fun of Nojang, singing “Song of the White Gull” and “Baetnora” (“Boating Song”). The old monk lies down with his face to the ground, rises on his feet to dance, and is then seduced by two tavern women called Somu. Coming closer to the two women and dancing, the old monk tries to seduce them. However, when he is rejected by them, he gets angry. Taking off his *songnak* (monk’s hat) and Buddhist robe, he approaches them again. Eventually, the two Somu accept Nojang, help him on with his clothes and Buddhist prayer beads, and dance with him.

Scene 2. *Sinjangsunori* (performance of the shoe seller): The shoe seller Sinjangsu appears bringing a monkey with him. Knowing the old monk’s intention to buy shoes for Somu, the shoe seller asks for her size, but failing to make a

deal, he gives up. The shoe seller criticizes Nojang for fooling around with young women, while the monkey seduces Somu.

Scene 3. *Chwibarinori* (performance of the old bachelor): The old bachelor Chwibari comes up to Nojang and reproaches him for playing around with two tavern women, then attempts to take them away from him. The old monk Nojang stands in the way and desperately fights back, even hurling his Buddhist robe at Chwibari. Overpowered by the bachelor, however, he is deprived of one Somu and withdraws with the other. Chwibari unites with Somu, who conceives and gives birth to a baby boy. Chwibari cradles the boy in his arms, and while singing he teaches the child to read and write with textbooks such as *Song of a Thousand Chinese Characters* (*Cheonjapuri*) and *Repetition of the Korean Alphabet* (*Eonmunpuri*).

8. Act 7: Saennim (feeble old scholar)

Scene 1. *Uimaksaryeongnori*: The servant Malttugi appears escorting the noblemen Saennim, Seobangnim, and Doryeonnim, and asks a fellow servant, Soettugi, for help in finding lodging for his noble masters. Soettugi, the *uimaksaryeong* (officer in charge of making cloth tents), takes them to a pigsty, and greeting Saennim he mocks Saennim's group using vulgar expressions. Using this incident as an excuse, Malttugi asks the scholar to rebuke Soettugi, but later on he is caught by Saennim and pays money to be released.

Scene 2. *Podobujangnori* (performance of the young policeman): Saennim appears with his young concubine Somu, and a love triangle ensues with the strong young policeman Podobujang. Offering money, Saennim tries to lure Somu and prevent the approach of the policeman, but the concubine changes her mind to follow the policeman and scorns the scholar. Weeping, the scholar gives up on her, and Somu has an affair with the policeman.

9. Act 8: Sinharabi and Miyalhalmi

The old man Sinharabi comes to watch a *sandaenori* performance with his wife, Miyalhalmi (old woman), but mistreated by the old man, the old woman suddenly dies. Sinharabi tries to revive her but in vain. Wailing aloud, he calls in his son, Dokki, who left home after losing money he had stolen from his father in gambling, and his daughter, Dokkinui, who has not contacted him for three years. Dokkinui becomes a shaman and performs a shaman rite, and the family comforts the soul of Miyalhalmi.



Sinharabi and Miyalhalmi | Jpanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea



Waejangnyeo and Aesadang | Gunja-dong, Seongdong-gu, Seoul | National Folk Museum of Korea



Aesadang nori | Jpanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

Based on the conflict among the characters, Yangju Byeolsandaenori embodies the consciousness of the group of performers who have handed down the masked dance-drama. In other words, it shows the reversal of reality and escape from everyday life through the reversal in the monks' status and the eight depraved monks' mockery of the old monk; realistically portrays the tragedies of everyday life through the death of the old woman and the healing of the depraved monk's son; reveals radical deviation through the servant Malttugi's ridicule of the noblemen (*yangban*); shows the violence of men and the disintegration of families in a patriarchal society through the old man Sinharabi and the old woman Miyalhalmi, who appear and make satirical remarks about dark reality; and represents an attempt to relieve the sorrows and difficulties of life, with all the performers gathering together on the same day to hold a collective performance and experience exhilaration. In the process, the characters in the masked dance-drama try to ensure an abundant life for their children through education, break the barriers of social status to realize equality, exhibit strong sexual desire to increase productivity, conduct shaman rites to keep away bad luck and pray for good fortune to achieve an ideal life for the ordinary people, and ultimately aim at reconciliation and harmony by overcoming conflict.

Yangju Byeolsandaenori was originally performed at Sajikdan, a shrine located in Sajikgol at the foot of Mt. Bulgoksan. Afterwards, it was performed in various places, including clearings in the pine forest behind the village, the gentle mountain slope around Bangseon falls behind the current performing stage, the courtyard inside the outer gate to the Confucian village school, the pine grove on the hill east of the former training center for masked dance-drama, the walnut tree hill in front of the village, and the performance space across Seung-hakgyo Bridge in Yangju. After the designation of the masked dance-drama as Intangible Cultural Heritage, a stage was completed in the front yard of the training center in 1985 by covering the yard with lawn and making tiers of seats in the oval open space. The present large-scale amphitheater was completed in 2007.

Yangju Byeolsandaenori was originally performed mostly on Buddha's birthday (eighth day of the fourth lunar month), and at Dano, the spring festival on the fifth day of the fifth month, and at times on major seasonal holidays as well. In the early 20th century, it was performed regularly on Samjinnal in the third lunar month, Buddha's birthday, Dano, and Jungyangjeol in the ninth lunar month. For national celebrations, exorcism rites at government offices

to ward off evil spirits, rites to pray for rain, and when performers were invited from other regions, the masked dance-drama was held on an irregular basis. It was held at least five times a year and as many as ten times or more. At present, Yangju Byeolsandaenori is performed on a regular basis on Children's Day (fifth of May by the solar calendar), and on Saturday afternoons from spring to fall on the permanent performing stage. Irregular performances are held upon invitation.

All masks used for the performance are made of gourds covered with *hanji*, traditional Korean paper, and colored on the surface. Holes are pierced for the eyes and the mouth of the mask, the inner bark of a pine tree is attached on the nose, and *hanji* is rolled up to make the eyes and the mouth. To color the mask, paint is used these days and glue is used for an adhesive. The cloth used to wrap the mask is generally black and white, but at times red as well. The masks are around 20 cm wide and 24-25 cm long, and feature rather long eyes. Currently, the Yangju masked dance-drama has 23 masks and several sets are extant.

The masked dance-drama largely consists of *geodeureumchum* (haughty dance) and *kkaekkichum* (lifting the knees up and down). As a dance movement performed with verve and flair expressed in every part of the body, *geodeureumchum* is again divided into *sabangchigi* (lit. striking the four directions), *yongteurim* (lit. dragon belching dance), *hapjangjaebae* (lit. bowing with the hands together), and *buchaenori* (lit. dance with a folding fan). *Kkaekkichum* is a dance performed to a four-beat *taryeong jangdan* (rhythm). This dance includes the *kkaekki* movement, cutting down like in martial arts, and *gogaejabi*, in which the performer seduces the partner nodding his head. Other movements include *palttukjabi*, taking three steps forward and three steps back, *jarachum*, tiptoeing, *yeodaji*, *meongseongmari* (mat rolling), and *gopsawi*. Compared to Haeseo Talchum performed in Hwanghae-do Province, Yangju Byeolsandaenori displays delicate and graceful dances with diverse and well-developed dance movements using the hands and feet.

Regarding the rhythms, the *yeombul jangdan* used mainly for delicate hand movements accounts for a large portion of all rhythms in the performance. In particular, Yangju Byeolsandaenori has the most diversified and developed dances among the Korean masked dances. As such, it features *geodeureumchum* performed to the *yeombul jangdan* as well as *kkaekkichum* performed to the *taryeong jangdan* with firm and delicate movements.

In this masked dance-drama a short song is used for *bullim*, signaling for a certain rhythm to the musicians, when making a shift from witty remarks to



Sinharabi and Miyalhalmi act | Yangju in Gyeonggi-do Province | 2009 | National Folk Museum of Korea

dances. The song is, in general, a lyric song called *japga*. As such songs often contain Chinese characters, they are believed to have been part of the lyrics created and enjoyed by the literati.

Since it embraced *bonsandaenori* from the Seoul region some 200 years ago and was established in the local area by native villagers, Yangju Byeolsandaenori is the oldest form of *sandaenori* handed down to the present, when *bonsandaenori* is no longer performed. It is also characterized by the sub-division of acts and characters into more detailed scenes as well as diverse acts related to monks.

Ogwangdae

오광대

Masked dance-dramas from Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Ogwangdae (lit. five clowns) is the umbrella term for masked dance-dramas handed down in Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Ogwangdae does not have a consistent theme or story throughout the performance but consists of a series of acts with different themes and contents. Five regional versions of *ogwangdae* (from Tongyeong, Goseong, Gasan, Jinju and Gimhae) have been designated as cultural heritage and are thus preserved and handed down to the present. All versions are similar in that they have an underlying tone of satire and humor while giving insight into the tragic elements of life. Also, there are similar themes such as criticism of the class system, expulsion of evil spirits and wishing for good fortune, conflict between wives and concubines, wishes for many children, and vicarious satisfaction of desires.

Ogwangdae is performed in an outdoor space called *madang*, literally “yard.” The musicians stand on one side of the *madang*, in front of the audience, who are either sitting or standing, while the actors perform in front of them. This is similar to performing on a round stage. These days, however, *ogwangdae* is often performed on indoor theater stages. The audience sits in front of the stage and the actors and musicians perform on the stage, somewhat removed from the audience. Indeed, it can be said that stage performances are now more common than *madang* performances.

Ogwangdae performances combine dance, music, dialogue, and songs, for the purpose of providing fun and entertainment. Also embedded in the performance are festive and ritual elements and the objective of enlightening the people by emphasizing ethics and virtue and a consciousness of the times. Most of the performers enter to music played to the *yeombul jangdan* (rhythm) and begin to dance to the *gutgeori jangdan*. The dance and musical accompaniment reflect the traditional dance styles and melodies of the Yeongnam region, while the formal skills and dialogue used to satirize the *yangban* (ruling class noblemen)

reflect the *sandaenori* form of masked dance-drama as well as the acting featured in *pungmulnori* (farmers' percussion music performance). The music is mostly played to the *gutgeori jangdan*, but the rhythms are changed according to the needs of the scene and include the *semachi jangdan*, *yeombul jangdan*, *taryeong jangdan* and *dodeuri jangdan*. The major instruments used are the *kkwaenggwari* (small gong), *jing* (large gong), *buk* (barrel drum), *janggu* (hourglass-shaped drum) and *taepyeongso* (double-reed wind instrument). *Deotbaegi*, the basic dance movement, which is performed to the *gutgeori jangdan*, refers to the representative native dance of the Yeongnam region. Opinions vary over the meaning of the name: that it was devised to make the dancer look good (*deotboida*), or that it refers to a ritual dance performed for the purpose of removing things that are going wrong (*deotnanda*).

Like other masked dance-dramas, *ogwangdae* is performed in the form of a combination of music, song, dance and drama, or *akgamuhui* (Kor. 악가무희, Chin. 樂歌舞戲). Of these elements, dance and witty repartee account for the greatest proportion, accompanied by music and song. Among the dances of *ogwangdae*, Malttugi's dance used to be as dynamic as *geonmu* (Kor. 건무, Chin. 健舞, lit. healthy dance), also known as energetic dance. But over time, and depending on region, it has changed to a more gentle dance. Originally, *ogwangdae* was performed around Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the year, which had religious significance. Later when the focus was placed on the entertainment aspect of the performance, it was held when the weather was good, such as the middle of the third month or early spring in the fourth month, or when the autumn leaves changed color in the ninth month.

The characters appearing in *ogwangdae* are Malttugi, Sinjang, Yangban (nobleman), Mundungi (leper), Noreumkkun (gambler), Yeonggam (old man), Halmi (old woman), Jeju Gaksi (also called Jemilju, Jemuljip, Seoulaegi, Jageuni, Jageunaemi), the monster Yeongno (Bibi), monks including Noseung (old monk), Sangjwa (novice monk), and Jorijung (monk), Eodinggi (disabled person), Musireumi, Pojol (policeman), Seonnyeo (fairy), Bongsa (blind man), Mudang (shaman), and Saja and Dambi (lion and marten).

In the act devoted to the five guardian deities of the five directions (*obangsinjang*) and the horseman in Gasan Ogwangdae and Jinju Ogwangdae, five generals appear, including Hwangje Janggun (yellow general) and Heukje Janggun (black general), as the five guardian deities. Noblemen appear in all *ogwangdae* performances under a variety of names. In Tongyeong Ogwangdae, Goseong

Ogwangdae and Jinju Ogwangdae, five noblemen appear to represent the five directions and five colors, including Hwangje Yangban (yellow for the center). The number of noblemen is sometimes raised to seven with the addition of Hongbaek and Doryeong. In Tongyeong Ogwangdae the names of the five noblemen are Won Yangban, Cha Yangban, Hongbaek, Bitturami, Meoktal, and Jorijung. In Goseong Ogwangdae there are five noblemen representing the five directions, including Hwangje Yangban and Jeokje Yangban, as well as Hongbaek and Jongga Doryeong. In Jinju Ogwangdae, noblemen named Saengwon (Confucian scholar), Cha Saengwon and Ong Saengwon appear. Only two noblemen appear in Gasan Ogwangdae, Keun Yangban (big nobleman) and Jageun Yangban (little nobleman). Jinju Ogwangdae features noblemen called Yangban Gwangdae, Ong Saengwon and Cha Saengwon. Lastly, Gimhae Ogwangdae features three noblemen called Jongga Yangban, Mo Yangban, and Aegi Doryeong.

Mundungi, who suffers leprosy, appears in all versions of *ogwangdae*, except Gimhae Ogwangdae, but with slight differences in character. In Tongyeong Ogwangdae and Goseong Ogwangdae, one leper appears. He performs a dance expressing great insight into the joys and sorrows life and human existence and then leaves. In Gasan Ogwangdae and Jinju Ogwangdae five lepers appear. They are caught gambling and are chased away by a policeman. In Gimhae Ogwangdae there are five gamblers, but they are not lepers.

Yeonggam, Halmi and Jeja Gaksi are caught up in a love triangle. Jeja Gaksi can be seen as the equivalent of Jedae Gaksi in *yaryu* type masked dance-dramas and of Deolmeorijip in *sandaenori* type. The character called Jeja Gaksi or Jageunaemi in Tongyeong Ogawangdae is called Jemilju in Goseong Ogwangdae, Seoulaegi in Gasan Ogwangdae, Jageunmanura (second wife, lit. little wife) in Jinju Ogwangdae, and Jageuni (second wife, lit. little one) in Gimhae Ogwangdae. In Tongyeong Ogwangdae, Goseong Ogwangdae, and Jinju Ogwangdae, Halmi dies as a result of fighting with Jeja Gaksi. The cause of death is jealousy over the concubine giving birth to a child. In Gasan Ogwangdae and Gimhae Ogwangdae, the old man dies of a condition Koreans call *hwabyeong*, literally “anger disease.” Jeja Gaksi and Seoulaegi are caught while having sexual intercourse with the old monk.

A character called Yeongno (or Bibi) appears in all versions of *ogwangdae* except Jinju Ogwangdae. Yeongno severely harasses Yeongno Yangban. Boasting that he has already gobbled up 99 noblemen, he says he only needs to eat one more to rise to heaven and attacks Yeongno Yangban. In this scene, the folding



Mundung bukchum act (Goseong Ogwangdae)
Andong in North Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

fan and cane that are symbols of the noblemen are used to great effect. Yeongno Yangban dies in Tongyeong Ogwangdae, but not in the Goseong, Jinju and Gimhae versions. In Gasan Ogwangdae, Yeongno, who has been harassing the nobleman, is shot and killed by a hunter.

As side characters, gamblers, Eodingi and Musireumi appear in Jinju Ogwangdae and Gimhae Ogwangdae. In Gasan Ogwangdae and Jinju Ogwangdae, Eodingi demands money from the gamblers but when they refuse he steals the money from them. In Jinju Ogwangdae, Musireumi appears as the child of Eodingi or Halmi. Madangsoe appears in the act featuring the old man and woman as a servant but in Gasan Ogwangdae he can be seen sexually harassing Halmi. The blind man appears when either the old man or the old woman dies and brings the dead back to life by reading Buddhist sutras.

Monks appear in all *ogwangdae* performances. They include old monks called Nojang and novice monks called Sangjwa. In the Tongyeong, Gasan and Jinju versions of *ogwangdae*, the old monk flirts and plays with young women. This is smoothed over in Tongyeong Ogwangdae but in Jinju and Gasan Ogwangdae, the old monk is scolded by the noblemen. Goseong Ogwangdae features only one monk, who dances with two young women called Seonnyeo (fairies) and leaves with them. In Gimhae and Masan Ogwangdae, the old monk and novice monk do no more than take an outing into the secular world, getting drunk with happiness in the spring breeze. The monks here have no obvious opposite role.

The lion (Saja) and marten (Dambi) appear in Tongyeong and Gimhae Ogwangdae. The marten teases the lion and ends up getting caught and eaten. When the lion appears and begins to dance, the mood grows festive. The audience is fascinated by the scene of the lion killing and eating the marten. The contents and characteristics of each regional version of *ogwangdae* are briefly outlined as follows.

Each regional version consists of about five to six acts. Excluding *gilnori*, the street procession before the performance, the mask burning rite, and *dwinori*, the post-performance event, the acts are listed as follows. Tongyeong Ogwangdae consists of the leper's act, the *pungja* (satire) act, Yeongno act, *nongchang* act, and hunter's act. Goseong Ogwangdae consists of the leper's drum dance, *ogwangdaenori* (performance of five clowns), Bibi act, monk's dance (*seungmu*), and Jemilju act. Gasan Ogwangdae consists of *obangsinjangmu* (dance of the five guardians of the five directions), Yeongno act, leper's act, Yangban act, monk's act, and the Yeonggam and Halmi act. Jinju Ogwangdae consists of *obangsinjangmu*,

leper's act, Yangban act, monk's act, and Yeonggam and Halmi act. Gimhae Ogwangdae consists of the monk's act, gambler's act, Yangban act, Yeongno act, Halmi and Yeonggam act, and lion's dance. Acts that are common to many *ogwangdae* performances are the leper's act, Yangban act, *obangsinjangmu*, Bibi act, Yeonggam and Halmi act, monk's act, and lion's dance.

All *ogwangdae* performances are similar in the composition of independent acts, the appearance of the leper and his role, the composition of the *yangban* group, and the appearance of Yeongno. In this respect, they have similarities with *yaryu* performed in the Busan area. In the composition or form of the dialogue, *ogwangdae* have similarities with masked dance-dramas from Seoul and the Gyeonggi-do region and Hwanghae-do Province.

The themes and contents of *ogwangdae* include insight into life, satire and criticism of the authoritative class system, conflict between wife and concubine, criticism of Buddhism, relieving desires, and providing entertainment. The same can be found in *yaryu* and *sandaenori* type masked dance-dramas. The insight into life that is reflected in *ogwangdae* is insight into human existence. The performance shows various aspects of the happiness and sadness of life, and also includes relief of sexual desire, which exists inside everyone but is usually suppressed. Using such devices to express relief of desires is a realistic element that encourages the audience to look at life more accurately. As any performance needs an audience, *ogwangdae* has a good measure of entertaining elements to please the crowd.

Satire and criticism of the authoritative class system is achieved through censure and ridicule of the Yangban. Such censure and ridicule are delivered through Malttugi, a servant. But while the dialogue between the Yangban and Malttugi is confrontational, the mood of their group dance is harmonious.

The concubine giving birth is an incident common to the Tongyeong, Goseong and Masan versions of *ogwangdae*. The birth of the baby serves to escalate conflict between the wife and the concubine, with Halmi's death caused either by feelings of possessiveness or hatred for the child. In Gasan Ogwangdae, Jinju Ogwangdae and Gimhae Ogwangdae the concubine does not have a child.

Criticism of Buddhism is not uniformly seen in all performances. In Tongyeong Ogwangdae, Gasan Ogwangdae, and Jinju Ogwangdae the only monk is punished for his contact with women in the secular world. In Goseong Ogwangdae, the monk's dalliance with two women is depicted through dance. However, Gimhae Garak Ogwangdae simply shows the monk being tempted by worldly desires.

The fulfillment of desire is shown in several acts. In the act featuring the dance of the five guardian deities of the five directions, the audience experiences the fulfillment of wishes for peace and safety, wealth and honor. In the Yangban act or the Yeongno act, those who are oppressed by authority find inner relief. The Halmi and Yeonggam act or the Nongchaltal act serve to give vicarious satisfaction of sexual desire. *Ogwangdae* performances make people laugh so that we can forget about the difficulties of everyday life, even if for a moment.

Gasan Ogwangdae

가산오광대

Masked dance-drama from Gasan, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Masked dance-drama handed down in Gasan-ri, Jukdong-myeon, Sacheon-si, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

As *talchum* (masked dance-drama) spread to all parts of the country, it was combined with seasonal customs based in agriculture that were carried out on a regular basis. Gasan Ogwangdae (Kor. 가산 오광대. Chin. 駕山 五廣大) is assumed to have been held after *cheollyongje* (Kor. 천룡제, Chin. 天龍祭, lit. rite for the heavenly dragon), which was equivalent to *dongje* (Kor. 동제, Chin. 洞祭, lit. rite for the village guardian god) held on Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the lunar new year. The divinity of the shrine to the village guardian deity is contained in related documents. As in Masan, the village shrine in Gasan might have been a place where prayers were offered for the safe shipment of grains (*joun*) back when the system of *jochang*, or government warehouses for tribute grains, was in operation.

When the tribute grain shipment system was abolished in 1895, the Gasan village shrine, furnished with a grain warehouse, became home to the graves of people from outside the local area. As a result, the sacredness of the rites held

at the *dangsan* (village deity shrine) was threatened. However, the performance of masked dance-drama has continued in connection with *dongje*. Touring performances held to train children of the local residents as a way of meeting new expectations of the regional community was another important factor enabling the continuation of masked dance-drama performances.

It can be assumed that when the *jochang* system was in place, rites were observed when the tribute grains were shipped. However, no related written or oral records have survived today. In the past, in Gasan a rite was held at the village shrine, called *dangje*, at the first of the 24 periods of the day (11:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m.) on the first day of the first lunar month, if the time is right, or sometime during the second month of the lunar calendar. After the village rite, from the second day to the fifth day of the lunar new year the local residents went around the village performing *maegugut* (or *pungmulnori*) to chase away evil or miscellaneous spirits. On the night of the fifteenth day, *daljip* (Kor. 달집, lit. moon house)¹³ was burnt, and this was followed by a masked dance-drama performance called *ogwangdaenori* (lit. performance of five clowns). After this, villagers visited nearby towns to continue their performance and in some cases did not return to their hometown until the third day of the third month. Today, however, some changes have been made. *Cheollyongje* is held on Jeongwol Daeboreum¹⁴ at 11 a.m. and is followed by *jisinbapgi* (Kor. 지신밟기, lit. treading on the earth gods). *Daljiptaengi*¹⁵ takes place in the afternoon and then *ogwangdaenori* begins in earnest. Since the designation of Gasan Ogwangdae (ie. *ogwangdaenori* handed down in Gasan) as an Intangible Cultural Heritage, the number of invitational performances has increased, which is a new development in the performance of traditional masked-dance.

Gasan Ogwangdae is composed of three acts: *obangsinjangmu* (Kor. 오방신장무, lit. dance of the five guardian deities of the five directions), Yeongno act, Mundungi (Kor. 문둥이, leper) act, Yangban act, Jung (Buddhist monk) act, Halmi and Yeonggam act. The first act is a ritual dance that marks the beginning of Gasan Ogwangdae. Among *ogwangdae* performances, *obangsinjangmu* is rarely included in the first act. Gasan Ogwangdae is the only masked dance-drama where the dance movements of *obangsinjangmu* have survived to the present. The movements are heavy, dignified and well-ordered. First, General Hwangje (emperor general) of the center appears, followed by General Cheongje of the east, General Jeokje of the south, General Baekje of the west, and finally General Heukje of the north. They dance together, bowing to one another. And the

generals of the four directions all bow to General Hwangje standing in the center. As he dances, General Hwangje places the four generals in the directions of north, south, east and west, and then they all dance together.

In the second act, Yeongno, a monster, appears and gobbles up the five gods of the five directions who came before him. Yeongno first walks around the scene making “*ppi ppi*” sounds and then eats the gods in the order of blue, black, white, and red, who exit one by one as they are eaten. In the end, only General Hwangje is left. General Hwangje talks with Yeongno, asking him about his identity. In the end, the general asks Yeongno whether he is going to eat him, a *yangban* (nobleman). In response, Yeongno tells the general that noblemen taste better, then gobbles him up. Then Posu (hunter) appears, confronting Yeongno, and fires a gun to kill the monster. Finally the monster collapses.

In the third act, the Mundungi (leper) act, five disabled people appear including Iipjjigeuraengi (person with a harelip), Koppajinnom (person with a crooked nose), Nunjjigeuraengi (person with deformed eyes), Gwippajinnom (person with deformed ears), Anpakgopchu (hunchback), Jeolleumbari (person with a limp), and Gombaepari (person with a deformed arm). They do not have distinct features that distinguish one from another. They all act like people with defects and perform *deotbaegi byeongsinchum* (dance of the disabled, lit. cripple’s dance). Even after the dance is over, Domundungi (head of the lepers) moves to start begging, singing *jangtaryeong*, a song that often accompanies begging. The other four lepers walk around and raise money from the audience while singing the song. When the singing is over, the lepers engage in *tujeon* (gambling with cards) and Eodeongi, half paralyzed, appears and pesters the lepers to give him a winning tip. The lepers ignore Eodingi so he calls in a policeman. When the policeman tries to take them to a police station for gambling, the lepers beg for forgiveness. When the policeman makes his exit, the gambling resumes. Eodingi nags them to give him a winning tip again and the lepers beat him for reporting them. And then Eodingi reappears with a policeman, who takes the lepers to a police station.

As widely known, Gasan Ogwangdae is the only masked dance-drama that features a Japanese policeman called *sunsa* instead of *pojol*, a policeman of the Joseon Dynasty. In the first recording of the performance by Kang Yonggwon, as well as a recording which the folk culture research institute of Sogang University studied for years to restore it, those who were involved all recalled that a Japanese policeman had appeared in past performances. For this reason, Gasan



Gasan Ogwangdae | National Folk Museum of Korea

Ogwangdae was reenacted in 1974 based on a restored recording. However, the Japanese policeman was replaced with *pojol*, a policeman of the Joseon Dynasty, in line with discourse on the succession and preservation of folk culture in Korea. Even today the recordings of performances feature *pojol*. As such, shifting from *pojol* to a Japanese policeman and back to *pojol* again demonstrates dynamic cultural response to the changes of the times, which is regarded as an important characteristic of folk art.

In the fourth act, the Yangban act, Keun Yangban and four Jageun Yangban appear. Like other masked dance-dramas, the Yangban act featuring Malttugi (servant) is based on the servant ridiculing and criticizing noblemen who try to assert their authority.

The fifth act, featuring the Jung (monk), has a unique composition that distinguishes Gasan Ogwangdae from masked dance-dramas handed down in other regions. First, Somu brings Seoulaegi, Yangban's concubine, with her from Seoul. At this moment, the Yangban is fanning himself vainly on one side of the stage. And then Nojang (old monk) appears with Sangjwa (novice monk). Nojang falls in love with Seoulaegi at first sight and seduces her, convincing her to

run away with him. Yangban angrily orders Malttugi to bring the runaway Seoulaegi back. Malttugi comes back with Nojang, Sangjiwa, and Seoulaegi. Yangban orders Malttugi to beat the old monk. Sangjiwa covers Nojang's body with his own and the novice monk allows Malttugi to beat him instead of the old monk. Impressed by Sangjiwa's sincerity, Yangban orders Malttugi to release them. At this time Nojang forces Sangjiwa to procure funds for their return to the temple. So Sangjiwa begins to beg. While Sangjiwa is raising funds, Nojang sings *danga* (short lyrical song) like "Nongbuga" (Kor. 농부가, lit. farmer's song), generally ending with "Jinnongbuga." This act, where the performers sing with the audience, divides Gasan Ogwangdae into the first half and the second half.

The sixth act, featuring Halmi and Yeonggam, also has a distinctive feature that is rarely seen in other *talchum* performances. First Halmi appears with her son Madangsoe and the two exchange jokes. And then Ong Saengwon (classics licenciante) appears and plots with Halmi. At this point, Yeonggam appears with Seoulaegi, and Halmi and Yeonggam fight. While Yeonggam breaks things in the house, the ancestral spirit jar is broken into pieces, which makes the old man faint. Halmi asks Ong Saengwon to call in a blind man, who then chants Bud-



Obangsinjang and Yeongno



Domundungichum (dance of Domundungi)

Gasan Ogwangdae | 1974 | National Folk Museum of Korea

dhist sutras. Then Ong Saengwon calls in a *daejabi* to hold the spirit pole and confirms Yeonggam's death. A shaman is also called upon to hold *jinogwigut*, a rite to comfort the soul of the dead. Five shamans appear to perform the rite. When the masked dance-drama is over, *pajigut* ensues, a kind of a post-performance celebration where the performers dance excitedly with the audience, wrapping up the entire performance.

The costumes worn in Gasan Ogwangdae do not seem to be stage costumes but rather like everyday clothes. However, when the masked dance-drama was held outside the hometown of Gasan it is likely that costumes were specially made for the performances. Since the masks were mostly made of paper, new masks were often created for each performance. In some cases, performers wore repaired masks. There were no professional mask makers. Instead, one of the villagers with a talent for art and craft created masks with the aid of the performers.

Gasan Ogwangdae has a lot in common with Jinju Ogwangdae in terms of the shape of the masks and dance movements. Jinju and Gasan are geographically close to each other. As such, it is posited that Gasan Ogwangdae was derived from Jinju Ogwangdae. This theory which places great emphasis on the



Halmi and Ong Saengwon



Yeonggam and Seoulaegi

lineage of the original and transmitted versions is groundless. In addition, it may lead to the mistake of overlooking the importance of the small but varied differences and dynamic qualities of *talchum* performed in different regions. The rapid spread and establishment of Gasan Ogwangdae and other masked dance-dramas of various regions was not just a cloning process but the process of attempting change while developing unique characteristics and meaning.

Some important differences that distinguish Gasan Ogwangdae from Jinju Ogwangdae are as follows: First, the Yeongno act and *obangsinjangmu* act are combined in Gasan Ogwangdae, which is not found in the masked dance-drama of other regions. In addition the mask worn by Yeongno looks like a lion, which brings to mind the lion dance in Tongyeong Ogwangdae.

Second, the squabble between Halmi and Yeonggam often ends with Halmi's death in other masked dances-dramas, including Jinju Ogwangdae. However, in Gasan Ogwangdae, the old nobleman breaks the ancestral spirit jar, which makes him collapse, cursed by the gods. In addition, the affair between Halmi and Ong Saengwon and the relationship between Somu and Seoulaegi are not found in masked dance-drama handed down in other regions.

Third, *obaengseol* (Kor. 오행설, Chin. 五行說, lit. theory of the five elements) is culturally well embodied in the composition of Gasan Ogwangdae. For example, the performers of Gasan Ogwangdae perceive the *obangsinjangmu* act and the Yeongno act as a combined act, and regard their performance as being composed of five acts rather than six. In addition, five shamans appear in the Halmi and Yeonggam act, five guardian gods of the five directions in the *obangsinjangmu* act, five lepers in the Mundungi act, and five noblemen in the Yangban act. These instances are evidence that this particular masked dance-drama was influenced by the theory of the five elements.

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that there is a big difference between Gasan Ogwangdae and Jinju Ogwangdae in the social status of the performers. The performers of Jinju Ogwangdae came from groups of professional entertainers, mostly of the lower classes, who resided in the *eupchi* area of Jinju, the seat of town administration with a resident district magistrate. On the other hand, the performers of Gasan Ogwangdae were mostly affiliated with a grain warehouse called *jochang*, managed by the local government. In the case of Gasan, the time when performers hailing from the Cheongju Han clan appeared coincides with the time the clan was being ordered according to Confucian principles. This is also a distinct feature that was not shared by performers in other regions including Jinju.

Regarding the establishment of these two *ogwangdae* performances, it is hard to clearly identify which came first. Given that two versions of *ogwangdae* have been passed down in geographically close areas, they might have been complementary, which is probably close to historical truth. Another noteworthy fact is that two greatly different social classes mastered and enjoyed the same genre of folk art. The example of the Jinju region, where two variant forms of *ogwangdae* were handed down in geographically close areas, demonstrates that in the latter half of the 19th century *talchum* itself was no longer a genre reserved for a certain group of society but had evolved into a new art form where performers from different social classes took part. This is one of the important characteristics of masked dance-drama.

Taking the example of Gasan Ogwangdae, there is no intention of ignoring other forms of *talchum* that were performed by those with a different social background, including people of lower classes, commoners, or merchants, or of arguing that masked dance-drama does not possess characteristics of folk culture. Instead, what deserves attention here is that masked dance-drama can be characterized as a composite culture, that is, popular culture, enjoyed by people from all walks of life, instead of a genre reserved only for a certain social class. As such, recognizing masked dance-drama as a form of popular culture can help conventional discourses on folklore go beyond the intellectual dilemma between the origin and the public, and in turn contribute to capturing new social and cultural dynamics emerging in the latter half of the 19th century and broadening and deepening discussion in the comparative historical context.

13. *Daljip*, literally "moon house," is a large bonfire.
14. Jeongwol Daeboreum refers to the first full moon day of the lunar new year.

15. *Daljiptaeugi*, literally "burning the moon house," is a seasonal custom in which performers burn the bonfire.

Gimhae Ogwangdae

김해오광대

Masked dance-drama from Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Masked dance-drama performed in the Gimhae region of Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Ogwangdae refers to masked dance-dramas handed down mostly in Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Like other masked dance-dramas of the Gyeongsangnam-do region, Gimhae Ogwangdae was traditionally performed on Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the year, and funds were raised for the event through *geollip* (Kor. 걸립, Chin. 乞粒, lit. begging grains) *nongak*,¹⁶ from the third day of the lunar New Year. Meanwhile, the masks were made and the performers practiced. On the day of the event, a tug-of-war battle was held in the daytime and at night *ogwangdae* was performed to expel evil spirits and promote good fortune.

Gimhae Ogwangdae is composed of six acts: monk's act, gambler's act, Yangban act, Yeongno act, Halmi and Yeonggam act, and the lion's dance. Based on the script of Choe Sangsu's recording of Gimhae Ogwangdae, the plot of the six acts is briefly outlined in order as follows.

Act 1. Monk's act: The old monk (Nojang) and the novice monk (Sangjwa) enter the performance space together and dance to the *gutgeori jangdan* (rhythm). Here the old monk is not trying to save sentient beings but to lure his younger male disciple, the novice monk. It is hard to find an example of love between men being treated in the masked dance-drama of any other region. This is a reflection of new social trends in the latter half of the 19th century, and by placing such subject matter in the first act Gimhae Ogwangdae challenges and satirizes social taboos more sharply than any other masked dance-drama.

Act 2. Gambling act: First, four gamblers appear dancing to the *gutgeori jangdan* and then sit down to play a card game called *tujeon*. Just then, Eodingi, a cripple, comes out piggybacking his son Musireumi, pockmarked from smallpox. He lets his son down and after dancing for a while approaches the gambling

table and asks for money. When told there is no money, Eodingi steals the kitty and runs away. One of the gamblers chases and catches him, telling him to give back the money, but Eodingi says he has already used it for his son's hospital bills. The police come and tie a rope around Eodingi and take him away. Considering that the government strictly cracked down on gambling and other games that were rampant during the late Joseon period, this act can be seen as the expression of defiance and satire of state-imposed taboos. Dramatic tension is thus heightened with the defiance and satire of social taboos in the first act and state taboos in the second act.

Act 3. Yangban act: Appearing in this act are Jongga Yangban, Mo Yangban, Aegi Yangban, and Malttugi. After a speech, Jongga Yangban proposes to the other *yangban* (noblemen) that they summon Malttugi. Malttugi finally appears, only after being called several times. Pointing out that the *gwageo* (civil service exam) is not far away, they scold Malttugi for being out of sight, whereupon Malttugi starts to jeer at them. Malttugi ridicules them, saying that although he has looked all over Seoul "the son wasn't there." He looked through all the gambling dens in the country but he wasn't there so he went back to the house and



Gimhae Ogwangdae | National Folk Museum of Korea



Yangban act | National Folk Museum of Korea

“the old Saennim [feeble scholar] was there.” Lastly, he says, “The old lady of the house was there, all naked inside the upper storeroom,” and then loudly shouts, “In front of the lower barn door all naked we played...” The noblemen then say, “We’re doomed. We’re doomed. Our noble household is doomed.” And then they leave.

Act 4. Yeongno act: The important point in this act is that Yeongno (imaginary beast) intends to catch and eat the Yangban. The noblemen are dramatized in this way as beings who must be punished by heaven without fail. The Yangban is by himself when Yeongno appears. When Yeongno approaches him, making a “*Bi~bi~*” sound, the Yangban says, “What?” To which Yeongno replies, “I’ve gobbled up 99 *yangban* in China and now for the last one, I’m going to eat you, a Joseon *yangban*.” Startled, the Yangban denies being a nobleman at all and starts to reel off a list of things he might be instead: “dog, shit, piss, cow, pig, anchovy.” But when Yeongno says that he can eat anything, the Yangban gets flustered and makes to hit Yeongno with his fan but drops it instead. In this commotion over the fan, a symbol of the Yangban’s social status, the Yangban falls over and hurts

himself and suffers all sorts of humiliation. After barely managing to pick up his fan, he heaves a sigh of relief and exists as he dances.

Act 5. Halmi and Yeonggam act: Halmi, the original wife, having searched all over the country for Yeonggam, her husband, enters the performance space holding a cane and calling for her husband as she circles the place. Just then, Yeonggam calls Halmi and asks where she is. Finally, they meet and lament that their once beautiful clothes are now all worn out. Yeonggam then says he has a beautiful concubine, whom he met at Jemulpo. Halmi says she would like to meet her, so Yeonggam calls his concubine over and begins to fondle her. When Halmi gets jealous, Yeonggam asks the whereabouts of their two sons. Halmi says, "The eldest one worked on a fishing boat but fell into the water and drowned, and the second one went to log timber and was caught and eaten by a bear." Bitterly grieved, Yeonggam faints away. The concubine leaves. Halmi, in a panic, calls a doctor. The doctor takes Yeonggam's pulse and says he died from *hwabyeong* (lit. anger disease). A blind man is summoned to read Buddhist sutras out aloud, a rite is held by a shaman, and bier bearers pick up the bier, and carrying the dead body away they sing the dirge "Sangyeotsori."¹⁷

Act 6. Lion's dance: The marten (Dambi), enters first and then the lion (Saja). The marten runs here and there, annoying the lion. When the lion shows off its strength the marten runs away and the two continue to quarrel in this fashion until the lion kills and eats the marten (or tiger). Unlike Suyeong Yaryu and Tongyeong Ogwangdae where the lion and the marten battle fiercely, in Gimhae Ogwangdae the lion is rather inactive and is presented as a symbol of goodness.

Gimhae Ogwangdae masks dating to the Japanese colonial period remain extant as well as recordings of the performance, which means all the most important elements needed for its recreation and transmission are in place. This is very rare for a masked dance-drama from the Gyeongsangnam-do region, and in this respect Gimhae Ogwangdae is meaningful in the present.

One of the most important characteristics of Gimhae Ogwangdae can be found in the monk's act. It deals with love between men, which can be a very sensitive issue. In other masked dance-dramas the subject may be treated in dialogue but not in action. While criticism and satire of society are found in other performances the blatant breaking of taboos shown in this act can be considered one of the most distinguishing features of Gimhae Ogwangdae.

Another characteristic is the weight given to the gambling act. While the gamblers are presented as people suffering leprosy in Jinju Ogwangdae and Gas-

an Ogwangdae, this is not the case in Gimhae Ogwangdae. When compared to Jinju and Gasan Ogwangdae, the gambling act is somewhat different in Gimhae Ogwangdae, its weight in the overall performance being an important characteristic. In masked dance-dramas of the southern regions, the old woman dies in the Halmi and Yeonggam act, but in Gimhae Ogwangdae it is the old man who dies. Despite similarities in content and genre, subtle differences are found according to region.

The *deotbaegi garak* (melody) is called *soegarak* in Gimhae. It is the distinctive melody of the Gyeongsangnam-do region that is generally used in *pungmulnori* (farmers' percussion music). In Gimhae, *pungmulnori* goes by various names, including *maeguchigi*, *geollipchigi*, *geolgungchigi*, and *nongaknori*. The score of the *deotbaegi* melody of Gimhae used in Gimhae Ogwangdae has been recorded thanks to the efforts of the performers and on the basis of that score the melody continues to be performed and transmitted.

There are twenty Gimhae Ogwangdae masks: Nojang (old monk), Sangjiwa (novice monk), Gambler 1, Gambler 2, Gambler 3, Gambler 4, Jusaek, Eodingi, Pojol (policeman), Jongga Yangban, Mo Yangban, Aegi Yangban, Malttugi, Sangju Seongsan Yangban, Yeongno, Yeonggam (old man), Keuni (wife), Jageuni (concubine), Saja (lion) and Dambi (marten). The masks are all made of gourds except for those of the lion and marten, which are made from a bamboo basket. The masks are mainly red, black or white. The masks used in performances today include 12 collected by the folklorist Song Seokha and those made directly by the performers, verified by the performers or those who remember watching performances of Gimhae Ogwangdae in the past.

16. The performance of farmer's percussion music.

17. "Sangyeotsori," literally meaning "bier bearer's song," is a funeral dirge

Goseong Ogwangdae

고성오광대

Masked dance-drama from Goseong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Masked dance-drama handed down in Goseong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Goseong Ogwangdae (Kor. 고성 오광대, Chin. 固城 五廣大) as it is performed today is the result of *jisinbabgi* (treading on the earth gods) and other folk rites and entertainments held to expel evil spirits at the end of the year (*narye*), a time-honored tradition in the Goseong region, being combined with the *ogwangdae* form of masked dance-drama, which was introduced from another part of the country. There are two theories regarding this process. First, some argue that while the process or form of transmission is not clearly known, Goseong Ogwangdae was established when the drama-related parts of folk entertainments were separated and combined with folk drama under the influence of people who had performed or seen such performances in other parts of the country. Second, some argue that entertainers from other parts of the country came to Goseong and directly transmitted *ogwangdae* to the people of Goseong, which led to the development of Goseong Ogwangdae. The exact time is not known, but before the 20th century lower officials and servants of the local Goseong government office held masked dance-drama in the style of *narye* held at the royal court. The masks were similar to those used today but it is said the contents and movements were different.

Until the first half of the 1960s, Goseong Ogwangdae was generally performed at Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the year. Early in the new year, local residents formed *pungmulpae*, a farmer's percussion music troupe, which went around visiting all the homes and shops in Goseong town playing music to raise funds for the *ogwangdae* performance. Some seven or eight days before the performance, rehearsals began on the grassy area on the mountain-side in Dodokgol. *Ogwangdae* was a village folk event and at the same time a religious event to expel evil spirits and offer up prayers. On the day of the performance, the *ogwangdae* troupe played *pungmul* music as they circled the town,



Goseong Ogwangdae | National Folk Museum of Korea

then proceeded to an open space (*madang*) at Goseong marketplace where they performed the masked dance-drama and danced and enjoyed themselves all through the night. Besides, performances are known to have been held outside the local guesthouse and on the lawn at Muryang-ri. Today, beside the south coast road in Goseong that leads to Tongyeong, stands a new building housing the Goseong Ogwangdae Preservation Association, which is responsible for handing down the masked dance-drama. Before the new building was constructed, a regular performance was held by the seaside at Danghang Port. Goseong Ogwangdae also continues to be performed at regional festivals all over the country and at local festivals in Goseong.

Goseong Ogwangdae is a masked dance-drama, that is, the performers wear masks as they speak their lines and dance to music played by an ensemble consisting of a double-reed wind instrument (*taepyeongso*), barrel drum (*buk*), small gong (*kkwaenggwari*) and large gong (*jing*). It was widely performed in Goseong from the late 19th century. Goseong Ogwangdae is so named because it takes place in five acts, or because it features five masked performers. *Ogwangdae* literally means “five clowns.” It is the name of a form of folk drama that was artisti-

cally perfected as it was performed as a feature of the people's lives.

In the past, Goseong was called Chilseong (Kor. 칠성, Chin. 鐵城, lit. iron fortress). It is a name connected to the region's history as part of ancient Gaya territory. Gaya was a kingdom known for its cultural creativity and the people of Goseong today are proud of this heritage. In Goseong, the wide plains were covered in fertile fields spread out like a carpet, and seafood resources were also plentiful. Hence it was a place of people who were broad-minded and rich in spirit. In recent times the shipbuilding industry has become active and new factories have been built. The combination of easy economic conditions and cultural traditions going back thousands of years laid the basis for the formation of Goseong's unique traditional culture. Goseong Ogwangdae is the major form of entertainment that was formed in such a cultural climate.

Goseong Ogwangdae today consists of five acts: 1. Leper's drum dance, 2. *ogwangdaenori*, 3. Bibi act, 4. *seungmu* (monk's dance), and 5. Jemilju act. Like other forms of Korean folk drama, it features masked performers who dance and exchange dialogue to act out stories. Now and then songs are sung to support the content. The musical accompaniment is played by the small gong, large gong, barrel drum, and *taepyeongso*. The *taepyeongso* is a melodic instrument but the remainder are percussion instruments. Because the music is mostly percussion music, the lines are never delivered in the form of song. The musical accompaniment is not provided to support the spoken lines but can be regarded as background music used to enliven the mood.

The main dance featured is *deotbaegichum* to the *gutgeori jangdan* (rhythm). Masked dance-dramas performed by *namsadang* (male itinerant entertainers) are called *deotboegi*, which indicates that *deotbaegi* was often used to refer to masked dance-drama in general. *Deotbaegichum* is the major native dance of the Yeongnam region. It is a type of free dance featuring the *ilja* move (Kor. 일자, Chin. 一字, lit. one character), which is stepping forward or turning with arms spread wide, and *hwalgaechum* (movements with arms spread wide), interspersed with *deotbaegi*.¹⁸ Dances performed by the whole ensemble are used to separate one act from another while naturally linking acts with different themes. The body movements match the personality of each character, and they are large and exaggerated in general. The dialogue is in the form of jokes and witty repartee and song lyrics are often rewritten to deliver humor and satire. The lines are delivered in the form of idiomatic speech that is relatively fixed, interspersed with improvised speech that changes with every performance. As the performance space

is circular, many of the spoken lines are repeated several times as the performer moves around the circle. The songs are either related to the plot or enhance the dramatic atmosphere.

Goseong Ogwangdae is not a performance with a single unifying theme from beginning to end but a number of different acts put together. The acts are similar to those of other versions of *ogwangdae*, but without ritual dance to expel evil spirits, such as the dance of the five guardian gods of the five directions (*obangsinchum*) or the lion's dance (*sajachum*), and are mostly focused on pure entertainment.

Talgosa, the rite held before the performance, takes the form of *jisinbabgi* (lit. treading on the earth gods) or a ceremony to inform past performers of the start of the folk drama, and hence is a combination of Confucian ritual procedures and shaman exorcism of negative elements. For the *tagosa*, a ritual table is prepared and flags and bamboo poles symbolizing the deities, called *singan* (Kor. 신간, Chin. 神竿, lit. spirit pole) are erected around it. The masks to be used in the performance are placed at the left and right sides of the ritual table. Photographs of past performers of Goseong Ogwangdae are also placed on the table.

Act 1. Leper's drum dance: The mask for the leper (Mundung) is a dark reddish-brown color and the face is somewhat pitted. The costume is made of several pieces of cloth joined together that look like rags. The masked leper curls up his fingers so that they look as if they've been cut off. The movements of the leper's drum dance (*bukchum*) symbolically express sadness and happiness and give a glimpse of the important things in life. After the 1980s, this act has included scenes such as farming the fields, harvesting the crops, throwing the harvested grains (barley) in the wind to remove the chaff, playing with a fly sitting on the hand in order to catch it, catching the fly and putting it in the mouth, and blowing the nose. The leper's drum dance can be divided into the first part, which expresses *han*,¹⁹ and the second part, which expresses happiness after rising above *han*. If the first part is a dance of sadness over *han* as a punishment from heaven, the second part is a dance of happiness performed with a small hand-held drum (*sogo*).

Act 2. Ogwangdaenori: This act features five masked performers (*ogwangdae*)—Malttugi, Hwangje Yangban representing the center, Cheongje Yangban representing the east, Baekje Yangban representing the west, Jeokje Yangban representing the south, and Heukje Yangban representing the north. In addition, Hongbaek Yangban and Jongga Doryeong also appear. Malttugi's mask is a reddish-color and the face has a strong image. His costume is a reddish-brown



Jemilju act | Andong in North Gyeongsang-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

deogeure (short military coat), a bamboo hat called *paeraengi*, and long horse-hair whip. Hwangje Yangban (whose name means “yellow nobleman”) wears a yellow mask and yellow costume. Like Hwangje Yangban, the other noblemen are dressed in masks and costumes in the colors that they represent. The mask worn by Hongbaek (whose name means “red and white”) is red on the left side and white on the right side. Like the mask, the costume is red on the left side and white on the right. Jongga Doryeong wears a green mask and a long sleeveless vest called *jeonbok*, the costume of *doryeong*, a young unmarried nobleman. *Ogwangdaenori* is an act where Malttugi, a horseman, mocks the noblemen but later dances in harmony with them. Before the 1970s, three noblemen appeared in this act: Won Yangban and two Jeot Yangban (meaning “side noblemen”). But these days there are five noblemen for the five directions—Hwangje Yangban, Cheongje Yangban, Baekje Yangban, Jeokje Yangban, and Heukje Yangban—in addition to Hongbaek Yangban and Jongga Doryeong. Among them, Hwangje Yangban in the center leads the dance and lines of movement. The dance is characterized by repetition of the *baegimsae* (*deotbaegi*) movement. The *deotbaegi* dance performed by Malttugi and the five noblemen is powerful and harmonious. While making movements with the head, they look inwards and then they

turn their heads to look outward doing the “sitting *baegigi*” move. This sequence is static yet dynamic at the same time. The group dance of Malttugi and the seven noblemen (one each for the five directions and Hongbaek Yangban and Jongga Doryeong), featuring magpie steps and the sword drawing move, is a mystical dance expressing the wish to gather the energy of the universe. The harmony of this group dance especially stands out, and the dance of the noblemen makes this act the one that best reveals the aesthetic characteristics of Goseong Ogwangdae. This act makes the most of the nature of the round performance space, called *madang*, while the music, dance and lighting enhance the artistry of the show and hence the audience’s enjoyment of the show. Malttugi’s dance has bigger movements than the noblemen’s dance, with bigger steps and head movements. In this way, Malttugi is depicted as a character overflowing with vitality.

Act 3. Bibi act: Bibi is dressed in a sack-like garment covered in dragon scales and wears a mask that looks like a goblin face. The nobleman appearing in this



Jorijung



Won Yangban



Cha Yangban



Bibi Yangban



Yeonggam



Malttugi

Goseong Ogwangdae masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

act is named Bibi Yangban and wears an apricot colored mask and long white overcoat (*dopo*). In his right hand he carries a folding fan and in his left hand a cane. While speaking his lines, Bibi lifts his leg and attacks the nobleman as if doing a side kick. The nobleman quickly runs away. The two masked performers act this out in a comic way. Bibi, an imaginary beast who has already gobbled up 99 noblemen, must kill one more to rise to heaven and this act shows Bibi intent on chasing the Bibi Yangban down. Bibi Yangban's fan and cane are props used to boost the tension. Unlike other *ogwangdae* performances, in Goseong Ogwangdae Bibi does not make a high "*bi bi*" sound. Instead, this sound is made by the *taepyeongso* from the musician's section. The folding fan is the symbol of the nobleman. When Bibi Yangban tries to pick up his fan, Bibi kicks him and harasses him. But while Bibi relentlessly attacks the nobleman, in the end it does not eat him.

Act 4. Seungmu (monk's dance): On the forehead of the monk's mask is written the *man* character (卍), the symbol of Buddhist temples. The costume is a black monastic robe (*jangsam*). The fairy (Seonnyeo), who is the monk's opposite role in this act, wears the mask of a pretty woman with red lips and powdered face, and is dressed in a red skirt and rainbow-striped jacket. This act shows the depraved behavior of the monk. Seonnyeo (equivalent to Somu in other masked dance-dramas) appears first and is dancing when the monk appears. The monk is seduced by the fairy and they leave together. The seducer appears first and sets a trap, or the mood, and then the one to be seduced appears and is caught up in the mood. This act is based on dance and there are no spoken lines.

Act 5. Jemilju act: This act depicts conflict among Jemilju (concubine), Halmi (wife) and the old country man, Yeonggam. The act opens by showing that the wife has spent her life working to make a living by spinning thread on the spinning wheel. Yeonggam, who left home some time before, comes back but bringing Jemilju with him. The concubine has a baby, and when fighting ensues the baby is dropped and dies. At this, the concubine pushes the wife hard and kills her. The following scene is that of Halmi's funeral bier procession. Halmi's mask is green on the left side and reddish-brown on the right side. On the green side the mouth rises upwards and on the other side it droops downwards. Green represents youth and reproduction while the reddish-brown color stands for death. It can be said that this act infuses Goseong Ogwangdae with some philosophical depth. It is an ontological act which provides not only enjoyment in the performance but also conveys insight into life. While expressing the toils of labor and

suffering of life through the masks and the acting, the performance also provides healing as the exhilaration of the mood enables one to forget the pain.

Goseong Ogwangdae was handed down first by poor *yangban* officials working for the local government office and later by members of the *jungin* class of technical workers. Today the masked dance-drama is handed down by local entertainers of Goseong and art and culture lovers belonging to the Goseong Ogwangdae Preservation Association. Until the late 19th century, the workers from the local government office performed *narye* rites to expel evil spirits at the end of the year. The ordinary people took just the masked dance-drama part from folk entertainments and began to perform that on its own. Around 1860, Goseong Ogwangdae was performed by like-minded locals as a folk entertainment on Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the year. It began at sundown and was performed around a bonfire to keep out the cold with torches providing the necessary lighting. Many Goseong residents came and found great enjoyment in watching the performance. They were strong supporters of this masked dance-drama and helped to keep the performance going.

Following its designation as an Important Intangible Cultural Heritage by the state, it continues to be preserved and transmitted thanks to the efforts of the Goseong Ogwangdae Preservation Association with support from the state and local residents. Members of the association regularly meet at the preservation hall and practice their skills. Many university *talchum* clubs come to the association for training, and hence Goseong Ogwangdae is performed in many other regions as well. Going into the mid-20th century, farmers and landowners in possession of a lot of farmland were the ones who handed down the performance. This tradition still remains, but with urbanization membership of the troupes has expanded to include businessmen, office workers, and members of the press.

Until the 1960s the members raised funds from their own pockets or through fund-raising events, but since the designation of Goseong Ogwangdae as an Important Intangible Cultural Heritage the money for keeping the performance alive comes from the state or the Goseong County office. The Goseong Ogwangdae Preservation Association also raises funds through its own training programs and concerts, but this only covers the minimal amount needed to maintain the performance. In June 2013 the Goseong Ogwangdae training center was completed and aside from transmitting Goseong Ogwangdae it is hoped that the center will develop and pass on new contents.



Jemilju act | Goseong-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | Cultural Heritage Administration



Bibi and Yangban dance | Goseong-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | Cultural Heritage Administration



Yangbanchum (dance of the nobleman) | Goseong-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | Cultural Heritage Administration



Seungmu | Goseong-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | Cultural Heritage Administration

Until the 1960s, the usual order of acts was as follows: monk's dance, leper's drum dance, *ogwangdaenori*, Bibi act, and Jemilju act. Sometimes the monk's dance was moved to the third or fourth act. Nowadays, the usual order is the leper's drum dance, *ogwangdaenori*, Bibi act, monk's dance, and Jemilju act. In the past a whistle was blown in the Bibi act but this no longer happens. Another change is that Bibi, who attacks the *yangban*, makes bigger, more dynamic movements than in the past. As the performers now use wireless microphones, they are making greater efforts to improve their voice acting skills.

Although there is no logical link between acts in Goseong Ogwangdae, the dance, music, dialogue and songs are in harmony overall and commonly reflect contemplation of life. Elements of stage performance have been used to enhance the folk performance aspects. In the case of the leper's drum dance, the meaning of the dance has been expanded with added lyricism in the movements. The harmonious dance of Malttugi and the Yangban in the *ogwangdaenori* act has enhanced the artistry of folk drama. In Goseong Ogwangdae, Bibi threatens to eat Bibi Yangban but he does not go through with it. While the underlying criticism of the *yangban* class is maintained throughout the performance, it is a folk drama that aspires to show harmony overall. The tragic death of Halmi in the Jemilju act offers insight into humanity in general. The tragedy itself is actually conveyed through comic acting. This can be seen as philosophical introspection arising from the comic character of the folk drama.

Among Korea's traditional masked dance-dramas, Goseong Ogwangdae is highly evaluated for the diversity and flexibility of its dance. The movements of Malttugi and the Yangban in the noblemen's group dance bring to mind the *taegeuk* shape (yin and yang symbol) and show wonderful harmony with the music. The twirling and stretching of the hands and the hems of the long overcoats draw the lines of the *taegeuk* shape and then disperse in harmonious dance movements that serve to raise the importance of Goseong Ogwangdae. Moreover, the dynamism of Bibi's dance in the Bibi act is notable. The endlessly long sleeves of the fallen monk's robes in the monk's dance seem to flutter high as if to reach the sky.

18. A dance move of taking a step forward, putting weight on that foot, then bobbing up and down in place.

19. *Han* is a mixed feeling encompassing grudges, rancor and lingering resentment.

Jinju Ogwangdae

진주오광대

Masked dance-drama from Jinju, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

This is a masked dance-drama handed down in Jinju, Gyeongsangnam-do Province as a seasonal custom.

The term *ogwangdae* in Jinju Ogwangdae indicates the performance of five *gwangdae*, which literally means “clown.” Here *gwangdae* (Kor. 광대, Chin. 廣大, lit. big and wide) means “a person wearing a mask.” The number five comes from the concept of the five directions, or *obang* (Kor. 오방, Chin. 五方, lit. five directions), which is based in the theory of the five elements. The five directions are east, west, south, north and the center, and the number five is reflected in *obangsinjangmu*, the dance of the five guardian deities of the five directions (*obangsin*), or the dance of the five lepers. *Obangsinjangmu* in particular is strongly related with the theory of the five elements and the concept of expelling evil spirits.

Jinju Ogwangdae consists of five acts. The first is *obangsinjangmu*. The five guardian deities appear in the form of generals: Hwangje Janggun, the yellow general of the center; Cheongje Janggun, the blue general of the east; Jeokje Janggun, the red general of the south; Baekje Janggun, the white general of the west; and Heukje Janggun, the black general of the north. They enter dancing to the song “Yeombul Taryeong,” each wearing a military officer’s robe called *cheollik* in the color of his particular direction, and a *gat*²⁰ with feather attached. When the rhythm of the music changes to the *gutgeori jangdan*, they perform a dance miming the exorcism of evil spirits and exit. This act depicts the deities who control the universe and immortality coming down to the human world and expelling all sundry ghosts and spirits as they dance. At the same time, this dance is a device to purify the performance space.

The second act is the Mundungi (leper) act. To a loud rhythm, five lepers wearing masks decorated with the five colors of the five directions (*obangsaek*) suddenly appear and perform a wild, clamorous dance. They finish dancing and sit down to play *tujeon* (gambling card game) when Eodingi

comes in with Musireumi on his back and steals the kitty and runs away. Eodingi is caught and scolded but finally gains the money he wanted and goes away. Then the masked lepers dance merrily. This act depicts the joys and sorrows of those in the lowest strata of society through the five lepers, the cripple Eodingi, and the smallpox victim Musireumi, who have been isolated and become twisted in mind because of disease and disability. The gods of the five directions appear, and performing dances imitating a lame person, they drive away the frightening god of disease and thus protect the welfare and peace of the village.

The third act, the Yangban act, features the servant Malttugi chasing away the masked lepers. Then to the *yeombul jangdan*, the scholars Saengwon, Cha Saengwon and Ong Saengwon, enter in turn and exchange jokes with Malttugi. The knowledgeable servant Malttugi mocks his ignorant master, Saengwon, and his two friends, showing the hypocrisy of a society that judges people according to their social status. The battle between Malttugi and the noblemen (*yangban*) is a cry for the fall of the privileged class and the liberation of bonded servants.

The fourth act is the old monk's act. When a group of noblemen are dancing with eight fairies the old monk, Nojang, appears with the novice monk, Sangjwa.



Jinju Ogwangdae | National Folk Museum of Korea



Halmi making yarn | Jinju in South Gyeongsang-do Province | 1992 | National Folk Museum of Korea

The old monk urges the young novice monk to lure two beautiful women, and as they dance together he falls in love and ends up casting off his Buddhist robes. Saengwon instructs Malttugi to go and fetch the old monk, and the old monk suffers under this indignity. The story of a priest coming down from a temple in the mountains and being enchanted by the secular world as he watches the noblemen dancing with eight fairies can be seen as censure of corruption in the Buddhist circle.

The fifth act is the story of the old woman, Halmi. The masked Halmi character makes jokes as she appears with a pipe in her mouth and wearing a skirt and jacket that reveal her stomach. She meets Saengwon, who had left home, and when she finds out that he brought with him two new concubines this is when the lampooning begins. Halmi quarrels with Yeonggam, her husband, who ends up kicking her to death. Startled, Yeonggam comes to his senses and tries to revive her. When Halmi comes back to life in a rite conducted by a shaman, the villagers come out and happily dance together. This act shows a section of the lives of women in the past who suffered under the patriarchal system.

20. Formal wide-brimmed hat worn by men of the *yangban* class.

Tongyeong Ogwangdae

통영오광대

Masked dance-drama from Tongyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

This is a masked dance-drama handed down in Tongyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

Preparations begin in the last month of the year and at New Year the event begins with *jisinbabgi* (lit. treading on the earth gods) to expel evil spirits. On the morning of Jeongwol Daeboreum the commander of the naval garrison (*tongjesa*) played magistrate and pretended to interrogate criminals. This was followed by *pungmulnori* (performance of farmer's percussion music and dance) which continued all day. At night a bonfire was built on a grassy area at Mt. Mireuksan and masked dance-drama continued all night. However, masked dance-drama has been separated from other folk pastimes. The major dance movement is *deotbaegi*, and in 1909 masks made of paulownia wood were lost in a big fire. Judging from this, it is presumed that like the Goseong Ogwangdae masks the Tongyeong masks were made of paulownia wood also. These days the masks are mostly made with gourds.

Tongyeong Ogwangdae consists of five acts (*madang*): the Mundungi (leper) act, *pungja* (satire) act, the Yeongno (monster) act, Nongchang act, and the Posu (hunter) act.

The first act features Mundungi complaining about his fate and doing his dance, *mundungichum*. The leper's mask is a reddish-brown color with countless bumps on it, which are circled in yellow and white paint to make them stand out even more. The wide open eyes are glaring and the mouth droops down on the left side, expressing a warped spirit. The leper is dressed in white jacket and pants, with the left leg of the pants rolled up. Along with the mouth, which is twisted to the left side, this was done to show that the leper belongs to the non-mainstream culture and its clash with the established culture, which values balance and stability. To a slow *gutgeori jangdan* (rhythm), Mundungi appears covering his misshapen face with both arms and staggering about. He lowers his



Tongyeong Ogwangdae | National Folk Museum of Korea

hands and dances, then wiping his nose he slumps down on the ground and to the *jinyangjo jangdan* sings “Jatanga” (Kor. 자탄가, Chin. 自嘆歌, lit. self-sighing song) about becoming a leper because of the sins of his ancestors. But the leper, under the aesthetics of escape (Kor. 파탈, Chin. 擺脫, lit. move and escape) from constraints or standard etiquette, finally finds a reason for rebound amid hatred and despair. Forgetting about the difference between nobleman and the low-born, a physically sound person and a disabled person, finding freedom from formalities and restraints, denying death and being positive about life, and breaking out of a disfigured body to liberate the mind, he is able to find joy and cathartic release in the excitement of the performance. The leper dances up a storm to the *jajingutgeori jangdan* and exits. In this act the transformation of the leper’s pain and suffering to joy and exhilaration is made the most of to show the world of *goegimi* (Kor. 괴기미, Chin. 怪奇美, lit. weird beauty), or beauty of the grotesque.

The second act is the *pungja* (satire) act, where the noblemen joke with Malttugi only to be humiliated in return. The events in this act proceed in the following order: the noblemen enter, they summon Malttugi, the reason for calling Malttugi is revealed, Malttugi makes his greetings, the noblemen are

intoxicated by spring and dance and play with the eight fairies, Malttugi complains about being summoned, he scolds the noblemen, he exposes their real character, the noblemen fight back, Malttugi boasts of his roots, the noblemen surrender and plead for their lives, and Malttugi forgives them. Each character enters the performance space dancing, in the order of Won Yangban, Daeum Yangban, Hongbaek (Kor. 홍백, Chin. 紅白, red and white), Meoktal, Sonnim (guest), Bittureumi, Jorijung (monk), and Malttugi. This is an order that reflects rank. That is, the noblemen are ranked according to age, and Malttugi according to his subservient position. The noblemen summon Malttugi for fun and try to make him the butt of their jokes. The noblemen and Malttugi are in a master and servant relationship, the owner and the owned according to their social positions. The noblemen, as rulers over Malttugi, treat him as a plaything. But filled with animosity and enmity towards the noblemen, Malttugi protests and challenges their authority. Hence, Malttugi's first attack begins. Malttugi says he will show deference to them, so they should be polite in receiving his greetings. If they treat him as a low-born and show disrespect, he threatens to pull their tongues out. In Bongsan Talchum, Suyeong Yaryu and Dongnae Yaryu Malttugi commits the crime of having an affair with the lady of the house. Compared to Bongsan Talchum, where Malttugi whips the noblemen and thus commits the crime of physically abusing them, in Tongyeong Ogwangdae he commits the crime of verbally abusing them. The noblemen give Malttugi a stern warning. Then Malttugi begins his expose of the *yangban*: the eldest is the son of a *gisaeng*; the second is the son of a concubine of servant origin (Kor. 비첩, Chin. 婢妾, maidservant concubine); the third has two fathers, one each from the Hong and Baek families; the fourth is the son of a government official who visited the local inn and was born under the house, which was considered bad luck and the reason why his whole body is black; the fifth is the son of a government official's servant and is pockmarked from smallpox; the sixth, Bittureumi, has genetic paralysis and his body is deformed. In addition, Jorijung became a monk though he is of *yangban* origin, going against the national policy of suppressing Buddhism and promoting Confucianism and hence bringing shame on the family. When Malttugi uncovers their origins and weak points, thus attacking the sense of family based on blood lineage, and the sense of superiority based on lineage and morality, the noblemen challenge Malttugi to reveal his own roots. Malttugi boasts that his father and grandfather were military officials, or *mugwan* (Kor. 무관, Chin. 武官) and served in high govern-



Lion act | National Folk Museum of Korea



Halmi act | National Folk Museum of Korea

ment posts, which would make him of higher origin than the noblemen. The noblemen cower and calling Malttugi “Mr. Park” they beg him to forgive them and spare their lives. Malttugi succeeds in turning the tables in terms of rank, thanks to his thorough collection of information on the delinquent behavior and weaknesses of the noblemen. But this act ends with reconciliation between Malttugi and the noblemen. Malttugi overturns the master-servant relationship into one of “insignificant *yangban* of questionable lineage and noble family of pure lineage,” which can be seen to reflect and vicariously fulfill people’s dreams of moving up the social ladder. To criticize the false consciousness of the noblemen, who place great importance on a person’s roots and maintaining honor, Malttugi adopts the strategy of bringing them down and overpowering them by raising his own status, if falsely.

In the third act, the Yeongno act, an imaginary beast called Yeongno drives the *yangban* into extinction. Yeongno is an imaginary beast with a mouth like a bird’s beak, a head covered in scales like a reptile, and two horns. Yeongno enters to the *jajingutgeori jangdan*, and after clashing with the *yangban* chases them to the *taryeong jandan* in order to catch and eat them up.

Fourth, the Nongcha act criticizes the patriarchal system that makes a sacrificial lamb of Halmi. It deals with the love triangle involving Yeonggam, Halmi and Jeja Gaksi. It proceeds in the following order: Jeja Gaksi dances with the novice monks, Yeonggam sets up house with his concubine Jeja Gaksi, Halmi searches for her husband and meets him again, Jeja Gaksi gives birth to a child and Halmi dies, Halmi’s funeral is held. First, the concubine Jeja Gaksi dances with two novice monks face to face (Kor. 대무, Chin. 對舞, opposite dance). This shows the concubine playing with the monks before she meets Yeonggam, emphasizing Jeja Gaksi’s promiscuity and censuring Buddhism. Yeonggam leaves home and meets Jeja Gaksi. When Jeja Gaksi gets pregnant he goes to the marketplace. This is when Halmi appears, dressed in a jacket and short skirt that exposes her belly. Such exposure was taboo in the Joseon Dynasty so her attire is used to show Halmi as a promiscuous woman and a silly woman who doesn’t know how to dress properly for her age. Halmi is attractive with a symmetrical face, two faint wrinkled lines on either side of the forehead and nice, even teeth. On the other hand, her husband is described as having “a flat broad face,” and “has had acupuncture on the nose.” This suggests he is a good person but is fond of women and has the marks of acupuncture on his nose to treat *changbyeong* (Kor. 창병, Chin. 瘡病, lit. skin disease). In order to search for her husband, Halmi



Mundungi



Bittureumi



Meok



Hongbaek



Posu (hunter)



Bibi



Somu



Jageuneomi (concubine)

Tongyeong Ogwangdae masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

makes careful preparations, changing into clean clothes, tidying her face and hair, and drawing a bowl of pure water from the well to pray to the mountain god. Halmi and her husband call out to each other and hug each other when they are reunited. When Jeja Gaksi is about to give birth, the old man gets Halmi to summon the blind man, who comes and recites the Buddhist sutras. He also makes Halmi light a fire and fan it with her skirt to pray for a healthy birth. Halmi is upset and hurt but she doesn't show it and devotedly makes preparations to ensure a smooth and safe birth. When the baby is born, the old man happily plays with the baby and sings to him. Though the baby is not hers, Halmi regards her husband's son to be her son also. When she is playing with him sometimes she feels a dislike for him and hits his head when the old man and Jeja Gaksi are not looking. Jeja Gaksi decides she wants her son back, but Halmi refuses to give him up. The two start to fight and Halmi is killed by the concubine. The old man calls his sons together and holds a funeral for Halmi but a mockery is made of her death when the younger sons fight with the eldest son. The mourning sons grieve over Halmi's undeserved death, but rather than consoling her soul they quarrel and behave disgracefully as they try to preserve their own honor and gain an advantage when it comes to inheritance. Halmi has died an unnatural and untimely death but under the laws of nature where the cycle



Mundungi act (leper's act) | National Folk Museum of Korea

of life and death repeats itself, her soul is purified and guided to heaven. Halmi's death holds various meanings: the failure of Halmi's dream to recover her lost home expresses the despair of the common people; the performance represents the dramatization of New Year rites to send off the old year and welcome the new; and Halmi is the sacrificial lamb who takes all the bad fortune, disasters and unclean things of the world with her as she dies.

Fifth, the Posu act is a dramatized ritual dance to expel evil spirits and ward off disaster and misfortune. When the lion and marten fight and the marten is eaten by the tiger, Posu, the hunter, shoots and kills the lion. He then measures the lion and dances as he leaves. The lion, marten and hunter are all beings that chase away evil spirits but due to the dynamics among them the lion is perceived here as the incarnation of evil. It is believed that the hunter character was adopted from *pungmulnori* troupes, but others see him as a secular alternative to *gunungsin* (Kor. 군웅신, Chin. 軍雄神, lit. military hero spirit), who appears in shaman rites (*gut*).

The name *ogwangdae* means five clowns, or masked performers. The performance thus contains the concepts of the theory of the five elements (*obaeng*) and the five directions (*obang*) and features the ritual dance of the five deities of the five directions (*obangsinchum*). In some regions, five *yangban* or five

lepers appear instead of the five guardian deities, while Tongyeong Ogwangdae features five acts. The act featuring the five guardian deities is found in Gasan and Jinju Ogwangdae but not in Tongyeong Ogwangdae or Goseong Ogwangdae, which means the ritual aspect of the latter two is weaker. In Tongyeong Ogwangdae, the ritual element is still preserved in the lion character, but it is not a sacred being as in Suyeong Yaryu or Bukcheong Sajaroni; rather it is a weak beast that catches and eats a marten only to be shot and killed by the hunter. As Goseong Ogwangdae features no lion at all, it can be considered more secular in nature and more focused on pure entertainment than other versions of *ogwangdae*. Tongyeong Ogwangdae can thus be seen as a performance caught in the latter stage of transition from a ritual masked dance-drama to masked dance-drama for enjoyment, with the entertainment aspect having the upper hand. Therefore, the masks are entertainment focused rather than religious, and the animals are not deified beasts but animals in the wild. Likewise, the human characters are neither sacred nor deified beings but simple real humans in the secular world.

Yaryu

아류

Type of masked dance-drama originating in the eastern side of the Nakdonggang River.

Masked dance-drama passed down in the Suyeong region of Busan, Dongnae, and Busan port, which were located in the former Gyeongsangjwa-do region.

From around the third or fourth day of the first lunar month of the year, the *yaryu* organizing association would lead a rite known as *jisinbabgi*, or literally “treading on the earth gods,” visiting all the houses in the village to expel evil and pray for good fortune. The grains and money collected in the process were used to cover the costs of holding *yaryu*. Although *jisinbabgi* has a close relationship with *yaryu* in terms of dance and music as well as fund-raising, it is not actually

a part of the *yaryu* performance. Among the different versions of *yaryu*, Suyeong Yaryu, which is fixed in form, proceeds as follows. When the masks are finished they are brought to the performance space and a simple offering is arranged to conduct a mask rite called *talje*, or *gamyeonje* (Kor. 가면제, Chin. 假面祭, lit. mask rite) to pray for the success of the masked dance-drama. On the evening of the 14th day of the new year, when everything is all set, the performers show off the skills they have practiced to the elders of the village and proceed with *sibak* (Kor. 시박, Chin. 試瓠, lit. gourd testing), a process in which the roles are allotted. On the morning of Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the year, the performers conduct a simple offering rite at three village shrines to the guardian deities and at the Suyeong well, named Meonmulsae (Kor. 먼물샘, Chin. 遠水井, distant water well) to pray for the welfare and prosperity of the village and successful completion of the masked dance-drama. The rites were accompanied by *pungmul*, the performance of farmers' percussion music. The villagers gather at Suyeong Bridge or in the vicinity of the well around the time the first full moon is set to rise. These points were starting places for *gilnori*, the street procession leading to the performance. The group carrying small lights (Kor. 소등대, Chin. 小燈隊, lit. small light team) heads the procession, followed by a group that plays traditional percussion instruments (*pungmulpae*), a group playing processional music, eight fairies, the eldest nobleman riding a lion or horse-led vehicle (Kor. 거마, Chin. 車馬, lit. horse and cart), the masked performers, a group singing Nanbongga-style folk songs, and a group singing Yangsando-style folk songs, all forming a long, snaking line. This large procession consisting of various groups lasts for one to one and a half hours until it arrives at the performance venue located around one kilometer away while playing *pungmul*, dancing, and singing songs. When everyone participating in the procession arrives at the performance venue, they come together to dance the *deotbaegichum*. Everyone gets excited and joins in a free group dance (Kor. 집단난무, Chin. 集團亂舞, lit. mass chaotic dance). Not only the villagers of Suyeong but those from other areas can join in this dance and enjoy themselves. When three to four hours elapse, the excitement dies down and past midnight the women go back home. Then the masked dance-drama begins and continues till dawn. When the performance is over a mask burning rite is held. The participants give thanks for successful completion of the masked dance-drama, and bow several times to pray for the welfare and prosperity of the village and good fortune for each home, bringing the whole event to a close.



Talnoreum (mask play) involves witty repartee, songs, gestures and dance, and yet it could be called *talchum* (masked dance-drama) as it includes a lot of dance and functions as a drama. The basic dance of Suyeong Yaryu is *deotbaegichum*, performed to the *gutgeori* rhythm. *Deotbaegichum*, the major free-style dance (*beoteunchum*) of the Yeongnam region, has a basic framework but is generally very free. This dance features large moves with emphasis on bending the knees and the movement of the shoulders, or so-called “shoulder dance.” It is a fast and energetic dance called *geonmu* (Kor. 건무, Chin. 健舞, lit. healthy dance) that emphasizes the *baegimsawi* move, where one dances naturally then steps forward and puts weight on that foot and gradually releases it. According to character, *deotbaegichum* is divided into Malttugi’s dance, Yangban’s dance and Halmi’s dance. *ldongchum*, a group dance by every character, brings out the joy of *talnori* and finishes the play in harmony. While the dance of Suyeong Yaryu has a plain and simple beauty, the dance of Dongnae Yaryu is stylish and features the lowering of dance moves according to the beat. While the dance of Suyeong Yaryu is plain and simple as the dance of farmers, the dance of Dongnae Yaryu is stylish as it was the dance of idle noblemen (*ballyang*), influenced by the dance of the *gisaeng* (professional female entertainers) with whom they associated.

All of the masks for performers of *yaryu* are made with gourds. However, the lion mask and the marten (tiger) mask are so large that they are made with bamboo baskets. The gourds for masks are an easy material to obtain and to handle, and being light they are suitable for an energetic dance such as *deotbaegichum*. Whereas the villagers in Suyeong select clean, undefiled places to make the masks and imbue them with sacred meaning by performing *talje*, a mask rite, those in Dongnae do not choose a special place to make the masks nor do they hold the masks sacred, considering them to be just props for the performance. Wooden masks are usually made in the shape of an egg or rectangle depending on the length of the wood, but the masks for *yaryu* are circular in form since they are made of round gourds. Shaving unnecessary parts off the mask and engraving deep wrinkles gives facial expressions to wooden masks. As for masks for *yaryu*, the necessary parts are attached to the rounded surface (Kor. 구면, Chin. 球面, lit. spherical surface) of the gourd, and details such as wrinkles are painted to create facial expressions. While masks from the central region and Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori rarely have ears, most of the masks from Suyeong Yaryu and the Malttugi mask from Dongnae Yaryu have ears.

Since *talnoreum* is a comedy, it features many abnormal and comic characters. Thus, the masks of the noblemen are fairly realistic where many other masks, including the hairy nobleman, are humorous. Asymmetrical and imbalanced shapes are exaggerated in order to trigger laughter. Satirical masks themselves become comic characters while realistic masks also become comic characters through witty talk and gestures. Masks of the noblemen from Suyeong Yaryu and Dongnae Yaryu are relatively realistic. And yet those from Dongae Yaryu imitate real people more honestly, while those from Suyeong Yaryu emphasize abnormal features though they seem realistic.

The most distinct mask among the noblemen is that of the hairy nobleman, Mo Yangban. This corresponds to the second nobleman in Suyeong Yaryu. By making the hair, the eyebrows and the beard with rabbit fur, the mask represents a foolish and frivolous old nobleman. By comparison, in Dongnae Yaryu the hairy nobleman is the third one, who wears a mask entirely covered with dog hair. It is impressive that only the upper part of the nose is attached to the mask so that it moves, and the tip of the nose is red. The nose brings to mind a dog's penis. Further, he appears wearing a cap made with fallow dog hair, so he is also called *dureungdari*, meaning "dog hair hat," or *gaejalryang*, meaning "dog hair sitting cushion." Thus, the mask itself expresses biting satire of immoral noblemen who behave like dogs.

One of the most eccentric masks of *yaryu* is the mask of Malttugi. The base color is reddish brown like other masks, but it is larger. The Malttugi mask from Suyeong has round eyes pierced in the surface with raised edges, which do not look like human eyes. The wide-open mouth stretches to the bottom of the ears and the ears are made with twisted string in the shape of the number eight, giving a threatening impression. There are 23 bumps on the face, which performers call pimples, but they are so large that they look like lumps. The eyes of the Malttugi mask from Dongnae resemble the glaring eyes of a bull, expressing anger and physical strength. The nose hanging from the middle of the forehead is large and looks like the male penis. It represents healthy masculinity, fertility leading to fecundity and productivity leading to prosperity. The wide open mouth reveals silver, sawtooth-shaped teeth, which look threatening enough to prey on everything. The ears are large so as to catch rumors about the misdeeds of the noblemen.

The Malttugi masks all have the ears, eyes, mouth, and nose of human faces, but when each of the features is closely inspected, the face is more like that

of a demon (Kor. 귀면, Chin. 鬼面, lit. ghost face) than a human being. This is because the Malttugi mask was originally intended to magically expel evil but was transformed to the mask of a human who satirizes the wrong and immoral nobleman who are likened to evil spirits. The masks from Suyeong maintain the stylized shape of the mask to expel evil, so it can be regarded as a standardized mask. The masks from Dongnae express the realism of the general public by bringing the element of the hero of the people, more true to the present play. Overall, the Suyeong masks preserve the old form and ritual nature, so they are old-fashioned and symbolic, stylized and simple; Dongnae masks are more realistic and true to the place of performance and humorous.

Since *yaryu* involves many various plays and performances, it has fewer acts compared to other masked dance-dramas. Suyeong Yaryu consists of four acts: the Yangban act, Yeongno act, Halmi and Yeonggam act, and lion dance (*sajachum*). Dongnae Yaryu starts with the leper's act but instead has no lion dance. The Dongnae Yaryu performance held in 1965 presented only the Yangban act and Halmi and Yeonggam act. Later in the early 1970s, the leper's act and the Yeongno act were restored. Today, four acts are performed: the leper's act, Yangban act, Yeongno act, and Halmi and Yeonggam act.

After the 1960s, when the relevant regions were urbanized, resulting in a change of performance space and the local community, *yaryu* was no longer held as a seasonal event on the first full moon day of the lunar New Year with all the parts intact. Instead, the *talnoreum* component is performed on its own from time to time. Occasionally, the street procession, the mask rite, and the mask burning rite are carried out to hold a full-fledged *yaryu* performance.

Since *yaryu*, like *ogwangdae*, has been passed on in the Gyeongsangnam-do region, their *talnori* parts are similar to each other and for this reason some consider *yaryu* to be the same as *ogwangdae* or an imitation of it. Studies confirm that *yaryu* and *ogwangdae* are different types. Their distribution regions are different: *yaryu* has been passed on east of the Nakdonggang River, the former Gyeongsangjwa-do Province, and *ogwangdae* west of the Nakdonggang River, the former Gyeongsangu-do Province. Unlike *ogwangdae*, which consists of *talnori* only, *yaryu*, which also goes by the name *deulnoreum*, includes a series of varied performances such as the village rite, street procession, *hanmadang chumnori*, *talnori*, and the mask-burning rite. The performances of *yaryu* share similar features with *gut talnoreum* (ritual masked dance-drama), including *byeolsingut talnori*, while the *talnori* part is highly similar to dramatic *talnoreum*. Therefore,

yaryu has both ritual and theatrical characteristics, though it has developed as a theatrical masked dance-drama. The *talnoreum* of *yaryu* expresses resistance of the people against falsehood and oppression in a satirical manner. There is no act featuring an apostate monk and satire of the *yangban* class is biting. Performers present dramatic confrontations and conflicts with jokes and witty repartee, humorous gestures and high-spirited dances, triggering excitement and laughter from the audience. *Yaryu* is made more exhilarating by the masked *deotbaegichum*, which is a lively, impressive dance. In the agricultural age, *yaryu* mainly served as a ritual to pray for peace and a good harvest, and in the late Joseon Dynasty it served a social role in satirizing the inconsistencies of society. During Japanese colonial rule, it functioned as a people's cultural movement to promote patriotism and independence.

Dongnae Yaryu

동래야류

Masked dance-drama from Dongnae-gu, Busan.

Masked dance-drama handed down in the Dongnae region of Busan.

Song Seokha (宋錫夏), a folklorist who researched mask dance-dramas in Gyeongsangnam-do Province after the 1920s, suggested that Dongnae Yaryu emerged in the latter half of the 19th century based on Suyeong Yaryu, which was derived from Bammari Ogwangdae. Based on Song's theory of dissemination, Lee Duhyeon (李杜鉉) saw Dongnae Yaryu as a folk masked dance-drama in the line of *sandaenori* originating from Bammari Ogwangdae.

Going through a number of changes over time, Dongnae Yaryu started to be performed with a tug-of-war from 1928, around Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the lunar year. At this time, it clearly had the nature of a commercial event held for profit rather than a ritual. Although the current style is



Dongnae Yaryu | National Folk Museum of Korea

presumed to have been established by the late 19th century, since then many different styles have been presented according to changes in the social and cultural environment.

In this sense Dongnae Yaryu differs from Suyeong Yaryu, another masked dance-drama of Busan, which was performed as part of the rites held at Jeongwol Daeboreum, including *dongje*, a rite for the village guardian deity. This practice continued even under Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). This can be seen as the result of the Dongnae city office (*eupchi*) being the center of changes in modern times. Thus, the contents of Dongnae Yaryu have been presented in various styles and acquired new meanings in response to important historical and social changes, including establishment of the performance by Dongnae local residents, changes in the social and cultural environment in the late Korean Empire and Japanese occupation period, and the culture preservation and conservation policy based on the intangible cultural heritage system after the 1960s. The contents of Dongnae Yaryu must be approached from this perspective.

It is unfortunate, however, that there is a lack of related documents between the late 19th century and the late Korean Empire period. This is probably due

to a large fire that broke out at government offices in Dongnae in the late 19th century. The performance of Dongnae Yaryu was led by the town government office, *eupchi* (Kor. 읍치, Chin. 邑治, lit. city government), surrounded by the fortress. It is highly likely that *yaryu* was performed as part of local government rites at the time, but the loss of the documents of the Society of Distinguished Elders (Giyeonghoe), which must have organized or been involved in the performance, makes it difficult to understand the situation at the time. But no recording of the performance indicating what it was like was handed down under Japanese rule. However, that the descendants of low ranking officials and military officials called *muim*, who had resided in the town for generations, arose as the new elite class during transformation of the town into a modern city, and that an association of *gisaeng* called Gwonbeon (Kor. 권번, Chin. 券番) was established in the area are thought to be elements contributing to the performance and development of Dongnae Yaryu. The content of the performance should be imagined through the local government office, a unique space, and its social and cultural heritage.

Dongnae Yaryu is mainly divided into *gilnori* and *talnori*. Since *gilnori*, the street procession before the actual performance, was newly planned and directed in 1928 with great success, the procession held that year has become a model for *gilnori*. The street procession started at gathering places about one kilometer away from where *talnori* (masked dance-drama) was to be performed in the evening. The gathering places included Sebyeonggyo Bridge (洗兵橋, current Dongnae Front Bridge), Mannyeongdae (萬年臺), in the vicinity of the current Dongnae Middle School, the yard of Yeomchang (廉倉, current Allak-dong), and Malbaugol. From these places, the procession headed for the yard in front of Paemunnu (current intersection in front of Dongnae Market), where *talnori* was performed.

Performers who arrived at the venue rested at Gaebokcheong, an official waiting room that was prepared for them, and when they were joined by the remaining members of the procession they danced and played with the villagers until midnight. Late into the night, when the women had returned home, the *talnori* troupe appeared. The first act does not include ritual dances to drive away misfortune such as *obangsinjangmu* (dance of the five guardian deities of the five directions), or *sangjwamu*, the novice monks dance. The whole performance is divided into four acts: Mundungi (leper's) act, Yangban (nobleman) act, Yeongno (monster) act, and Halmi (old woman) and Yeonggam (old man) act.



Mundungi act | Dongnae-gu in Busan | 1970s | National Folk Museum of Korea

The act featuring a leprosy sufferer had been discontinued earlier, but it was revived in the late 1970s and continues to be performed to this day. In this mimed performance, a leper appears, jumps and leaps, rolls over and dances. According to Song Seokha, who studied Dongnae Yaryu in the 1930s, the leper's act is "dance expressing deep resentment and lamentation rooted in the leper's inability to succeed in life due to contracting incurable leprosy as a result of his connection to the accrued sins committed by the descendants or ancestors of the *yangban* [noblemen]."

Five noblemen and Malttugi appear in the Yangban act. The five nobleman consist of Won Yangban, the eldest; Cha Yangban, the second son; Mo Yangban, the third son; as well as Nejae Yangban, the fourth son, and Jongga Doryeong, a young nobleman, and bachelor from the head family. Malttugi ridicules the noblemen, satirizing their incompetence, empty formalities and vanity and comparing them with pigs and snakes while he introduces himself as a member of the *yangban* class and reels off a list of high ranking titles. Later, he completely disgraces the noblemen by saying that he had an affair (Kor. 사통, Chin. 私通, lit. private communication) with their mother.



Malttugi (servant)



Halmi (old woman)



Mundungi (leper)



Mo Yangban



Fourth Yangban



Won Yangban

Dongnae Yaryu masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

Similar to the Yangban act, the Yeongno act also contains satire of the noblemen. The nobleman meets Yeongno, a monster, and asks about his identity. In response, Yeongno introduces himself as a monster who will ascend to heaven if he kills and eats one hundred *yangban*. The nobleman deceives the monster by saying he is not a *yangban* but “poop, a dog, a pig, an ox, a caterpillar, a snake.” Nevertheless, the monster tries to catch him. When the scared nobleman tries to pick up the folding fan he has dropped, Yeongno kicks him and injures his toes. The nobleman manages to grab the folding fan and leaves the stage with the monster.

The Halmi and Yeonggam act unfolds centered on conflict between the wife and the concubine, with characters including Halmi (old woman), Yeonggam (old man), the concubine, a doctor, a blind man, and a shaman. First, Halmi appears while dancing and looks for Yeonggam. Yeonggam also goes searching for Halmi, and the two finally meet each other. Yeonggam brings his concubine, Jedae Gaksi, saying that he got her from Jemulpo port in Incheon while looking

for Halmi. When the concubine appears, Halmi gets angry and tries to drive her away with a stick. Yeonggam follows her and tries to stop her. Yeonggam asks after his three sons and Halmi answers that all of them died. Yeonggam gets angry and kicks her and ends up killing her. Yeonggam calls the doctor only to find there is nothing to be done, so he calls the blind man to make him chant sutras. After confirming that Halmi has died, Yeonggam calls the shaman to perform a rite (*gut*) and bier bearers shoulder Halmi and leave. As the masked dance-drama ends with this act, the performers remaining to the end and the local residents in the audience mix and have fun together, bringing the entertainment to a close. This part is called *dwitnori*.

The dances featured in Dongnae Yaryu come under the category of *deotbaegichum*. This dance performed to the *gutgeori jangdan* (rhythm) features large, round moves with greater emphasis on bending the knees and the shoulder dance compared to other dances. The music is based on the *gutgeori jangdan* and *jajinmori jangdan* (rhythm) and the instruments used include the small gong (*kkwaenggwari*), large gong (*jing*), barrel drum (*buk*), hourglass-shaped drum (*janggu*) and double-reed wind instrument (*taepyeongso*).

Dongnae Yaryu has only four acts, and does not have the monk act featured in the masked dance-dramas of other regions. These acts are not isolated but form a coherent story through their arrangement in the order of the leper act, the Yangban act, and the Yeongno act. These three acts mainly deliver satire and humor on the incompetence and ostentation of noblemen. Especially, the Yangban act vividly expresses the corruption of the ruling class and is the most theatrical act, being long and featuring many lines.

In Dongnae Yaryu, the street procession is carried out by the performers and villagers before the masked dance-drama officially begins. While other masked dance-dramas also feature *gilnori*, the Dongnae Yaryu street procession is one of the largest, most impressive, and best-organized. A festival mood is created as all the participants dance, sing and engage in a variety of folk entertainments as the procession moves forward.

As aforementioned, it is noteworthy that Dongnae Yaryu included a tug-of-war during the Japanese occupation period. As a side event, the tug-of-war drew an enthusiastic response from the audience, who were then naturally drawn into the audience of the main performance of Dongnae Yaryu. It is significant in the history of Dongnae Yaryu that the combination of the two events was planned and presented by the Society of Distinguished Elders, comprised of low ranking



Malttugi and Yangban | Dongnae-gu in Busan | 1960s | National Folk Museum of Korea

officials and military officials in Dongnae, and the Sogyeong Society consisting of their descendants.

Senior groups such as the Society of Distinguished Elders made an important contribution to the development of masked dance-dramas into popular entertainment in the late 19th century by integrating Confucian comic drama with ritual and providing places to hold the performances. In addition, responding to the modern era in a flexible manner, they voluntarily organized and planned Dongnae Yaryu even under Japanese rule, when they lost their historical preemptive rights due to substantial changes in the local administrative system.

It is generally known that very little literature remains on masked dance-dramas performed in different regions. This has been a major factor hindering representation of the history of the performance or encouraging excessive imagination that does not correspond to fact. Dongnae Yaryu, however, is significant in the history of performance in Korea as the relevant literature that enables recreation of the history of the performers or performances has been handed down, which is very rare. Considering that the networks or power structure of low ranking officials and military officials (*muim*) or their descendants in a large provincial region played a great role in transmitting the heritage of the pre-modern

era to the modern era, the case of Dongnae Yaryu is helpful in understanding the performance and historical development of masked dance-drama in other parts of the country. Also, Dongnae Yaryu has considerable implications in the history and development of performances as a case showing the importance of new directing and planning in response to changes in the external environment.

Suyeong Yaryu

수영아류

Masked dance-drama from Suyeong-gu, Busan.

Masked dance-drama handed down in the Suyeong area of Busan, which once belonged to the former Gyeongsangjwa-do Province to the east of the Nae-donggang River.

From around the third or fourth day of the first lunar month of the year, the *yaryu* organizing association leads a rite known as *jisinbabgi*, or literally “treading on the earth gods,” visiting all the houses in the village to expel evil and pray for good fortune. The grains and money collected in the process were used to cover the costs of holding *yaryu*. *Jisinbabgi* is not only a fund-raising event but an entertainment in its own right, and yet it is a separate performance to *yaryu*. Meanwhile, those skilled in crafts created the masks and props at clean, unfilled places taking care to avoid any misconduct. When the masks are finished they are brought to the performance space and a simple offering arranged to conduct a mask rite called *taljae*, or *gamyeonjae* (Kor. 가면제, Chin. 假面祭, lit. mask rite) to pray for the success of the masked dance-drama. On the evening of the 14th day of the new year, when everything is all set, the performers show off the skills they have practiced to the elders of the village and proceed with *sibak* (Kor. 시박, Chin. 試瓠, lit. gourd testing), or *siho*, a process in which the roles are allotted. On the morning of Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon

day of the year, the performers conduct a simple offering rite at three village shrines to the guardian deities and at the Suyeong well, named Meonmulsae (Kor. 먼물샘, Chin. 遠水井, distant water well) to pray for the welfare and prosperity of the village and successful completion of the masked dance-drama. The rites were accompanied by *pungmul*, the performance of farmers' percussion music. Meanwhile, the *yaryu* organizing association erect poles in the center of the marketplace, the performance venue, and tie straw ropes in all directions to hang up many lights, arrange a place for a bonfire, and set up Gaebokcheong, an official waiting place for performers to change their clothes beside the performance venue. After completing all preparations, the villagers gather at Suyeong Bridge or in the vicinity of the well around the time the first full moon is set to rise. These points were starting places for *gilnori*, the street procession leading to the performance. *Sodeungdae*, the group carrying small lights (Kor. 소등대, Chin. 小燈隊), heads the procession, followed by a group that plays traditional percussion instruments (*pungmulpae*), a group playing processional music, eight fairies, the eldest nobleman riding a lion or horse-led vehicle (Kor. 거마, Chin. 車馬, lit. horse and cart), the masked performers, a group singing Nanbongga-style folk songs, and a group singing Yangsando-style folk songs, all forming a long, snaking line. This large parade consisting of various groups performs *gilnori* for one to one and a half hours until it arrives at the performance venue located around one kilometer away while playing *pulgmul*, dancing, and singing songs.

The group carrying small lights, comprised of around 200 boys, hang the lights by inserting poles (Kor. 소등간, Chin. 小燈竿, lit. small light pole) between the joints of long straw ropes, and carry the rope in the parade; *daedeungdae*, the group carrying large lights (Kor. 대등대, Chin. 大燈隊), comprised of 50-100 young adults and middle-aged people, parades carrying large lights such as dragon-shaped lights and phoenix-shaped lights until they reach the performance venue. Upon arrival, they hang the lights to the straw ropes tied to poles to light the venue. When everyone participating in the street procession arrives at the performance venue, they come together to dance the *deotbaegichum*. They amuse themselves and have fun doing a free dance called *beoteunchum* (Kor. 허튼춤, Chin. 亂舞, lit. confused dance). Not only the villagers of Suyeong but those from other areas can join in this dance and enjoy themselves. Everyone dancing puts on a peaked hat made of paper that the *yaryu* association has prepared to avoid wax drippings from the lights. But those from other villages must pay for the hat to join the dance. When they are exhausted after dancing to their heart's



Suyeong Yaryu | National Folk Museum of Korea

content, people step back to the edges of the performance space and rest or drink *makgeolli* (cloudy rice wine). At this time, those with talents show off a variety of dances, songs and *pungmulnori*, drawing admiration or bursts of laughter from the spectators. Then people start again to dance in groups, and this may go on for three to four hours. This is simply described as “dancing *deotbaegichum* and playing” and is therefore called *deotbaegichum nori*. It is also known as *hanmadang chumnori* (dancing together and playing). When three to four hours elapse, the excitement dies down and past midnight the women go back home. Then the masked dance-drama begins and continues till dawn. When the performance is over a mask burning rite is held. The participants give thanks for successful completion of the masked dance-drama, and bow several times to pray for the welfare and prosperity of the village and good fortune for each home, bringing the whole event to a close. Today, the performance is usually closed with *dwinori*, in which all the performers come and play with the audience, instead of a rite of burning the masks.

The masked dance-drama consists of the Yangban act, Yeongno act, Halmi and Yeonggam act, and Sajamu (lion dance).



Gilnori (Street procession) | Suyeong-dong, Busan | Cultural Heritage Administration



Yangban act | Suyeong-dong, Busan | Cultural Heritage Administration

The masks worn by the performers are made of gourds cut in half. However, large masks such as those of lions and tigers are made of bamboo baskets. The masks of the noblemen, the old man and the bride are just large enough to cover the face. They are skin-colored and realistic. Cha Yangban, the second nobleman, is an immoral figure who behaves like a dog, and hence is also known as the hairy nobleman, or Mo Yangban (Kor. 모양반, Chin. 毛兩班, lit. hairy *yangban*). Although they both represent human figures, Malttugi's mask is large, dark and red-skinned in contrast to the Yangban mask, which is skin colored, and hence Malttugi overwhelms the noblemen when they confront each other. Malttugi's mask has well-defined features but when examined closely, it is not a human face (Kor. 인면, Chin. 人面) but the face of a demon (Kor. 귀면, Chin. 鬼面). *Baksital* (Kor. 박시탈, Chin. 辟邪假面, lit. mask to ward off demons) has been turned into the mask of a human to satirize wicked noblemen who are just like evil spirits in society. The mask worn by Yeongno, an imaginary monster (Kor. 괴수, Chin. 怪獸, lit. strange beast) that harasses and eats up noblemen, resembles the mask of Malttugi. The masks of Malttugi and Yeongno are standardized and symbolic.

Talnoreum (masked play) involves witty repartee, songs, gestures and dance, and yet it could be called *talchum* (masked dance-drama) as it includes a lot of dance and functions as a drama. The basic dance of Suyeong Yaru is *deotbaegichum*. This is a free-style dance accompanied by the *gutgeori* rhythm generally enjoyed in the Yeongnam region. It is a fast and energetic dance called *geonmu* (Kor. 건무, Chin. 健舞, lit. healthy dance) that emphasizes the *baegimsawi* move, where one dances naturally then steps forward and puts weight on that foot and gradually releases it. According to character, *deotbaegichum* is divided into Malttugi's dance, Yangban's dance and Halmi's dance. *Ildongchum*, a group dance by all performers, enhances the fun of the performance and ends it on a harmonious note.

First, in the Yangban act, the noblemen summon Malttugi, who is serving as their horseman, and scold him for his negligence. Then Malttugi indirectly abuses them by saying that he was not able to find any noblemen wherever he looked. When the noblemen grill him, Malttugi makes excuses by changing the subject. The noblemen believe him and make themselves look foolish. In the end, Malttugi visits the head house of the noblemen and says that he has had an affair with their mother. The noblemen grieve, saying that their family has been ruined. This not only criticizes noblemen but also expresses contempt for their

class by exposing the fundamental weakness of the family. Satire of the *yangban* class in masked dance-drama of the Yeongnam region is stronger than in *sandaenori*, a type of masked dance-drama that has been handed down in Seoul and the vicinity, or Haeseo Talchum. Of them, Suyeong Yaryu lampoons the noblemen in the most direct and harshest manner. In the following, it should be noted that Cha Yangban speaks lines that show modern awakening: "Now let's each of us go back to the farm, the fishery, the factory and school." Compared to other masked dance-dramas, it has more *sichang* (Kor. 시창, Chin. 詩唱, lit. poetic song), a song which entails adding a tune to a Chinese-character poem and singing it, and *taryeong*, which are folk ballads. This act is a dramatically developed exposure of the reality of Joseon society and contains much witty talk and has a long running time. Thus, both performers and audience think of it as the core of Suyeong Yaryu.

The following Yeongno act shows extremely biting satire of the noblemen. The eldest nobleman, who admits that he has been insulted and the family has been disgraced, is butchered by the monster. He behaves in a servile manner so as not to be killed, and insists that he is an authentic nobleman born to a family of scholar-officials who have served high ranking positions, but eventually he is eaten up. The monster is an imaginary animal that only appears in masked dance-dramas from the Yeongnam region. As no cases for comparison exist in other regions, it is difficult to assume the monster's identity. It is only guessed that it is a variant of the dragon since his lines suggest that he is a fearsome imaginary animal from heaven that preys on everything he sees. It has similar aspects to Juji, a scary imaginary animal featured in Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori. The mask of the monster Yeongno in Suyeong Yaryu resembles that of Maltugi, only with a more grotesque look having larger eyes, hairs on the face and horns on the head. Since he threatens the nobleman by blowing a willow pipe and making the sound "*bi bi*," it is also known as "Bibi" or "Bibi Bird" (a hoopoe in old Korean). To give a grotesque and mysterious impression, Yeongno has a black cloth covering his mask when he first appears. The confrontation between the monster and the nobleman reveal the weakness of the servile nobleman by exposing his foolishness in the contest for wisdom and emasculation in the contest for strength. What differentiates the monster act of Suyeong Yaryu from that of other masked dance-dramas is that the monster's counter role is the eldest nobleman, whom the monster devours in the end, expressing extreme satire.

Third, the Halmi and Yeonggam act tells the story of the old man and his



Suyeong Yaryu masks | Dong-A University Museum

wife parting and meeting each other again. However, the old man abuses, kicks and kills his wife, who is jealous of his concubine, accusing her of squandering the family fortune and killing his three sons. This is the only act featuring characters from the social class of performers, and expresses love and conflict among the husband, the wife and the concubine and the destitution of their lives. That is, it embodies the tyranny of men and the tragedy of women in a society dominated by the patriarchal family institution. It also implies the self-reflection of the old man, who finds himself wretched after taking a concubine though of humble means, and abusing and killing his wife and finally ruining his family. Originally, when Halmi dies eight bier bearers cover the body with white cloth and shouldering her body sing a simple dirge. After the 1960s, a bier started to be used, and the funeral scene has been enlarged into a performance of ten bier bearers singing a long dirge. Some consider the victory of the productive young woman and the death of the unproductive old woman expressed in the conflict between the old woman and the concubine to be theatrical remnants of agricultural rites. This is interpreted not only as a rite for the New Year signifying, “ring out the old and ring in the new” (Kor. 송구영신, Chin. 送舊迎新) but also as a re-

flection of the universal human psychology of sending off the old life, order and era and greeting the new.

Fourth, the lion dance (*sajachum*) act proceeds with a drama in which the lion fights against the marten (tiger) before killing it; however, it involves only dance without any lines, implying that this act is at the stage of ritual dance (Kor. 의식무, Chin. 儀式舞) to pray for good fortune and chase away evil spirits (Kor. 벽사진경, Chin. 辟邪進慶) and has not yet developed to the stage of theater. Some say that the lion dance is included in Suyeong Yaryu to avoid tiger-related disasters, which used to be rampant due to the tiger-shaped rock in the Suyeong region. Others say that the rite is performed by offering the marten as a sacrifice to the lion god as Mt. Baeksan (Kor. 백산, Chin. 白山, lit. white mountain) in front of the village to the southeast is shaped like a lion running away from the village with its back turned. This notion is rooted in the theory of geomancy (*feng shui*). The lion dance was performed as a separate event from the masked dance-drama to chase away evil spirits and to pray for good fortune in the beginning of January, like Bukcheong Saja Talnori. Some consider that the two were performed during the same period of time and gradually incorporated parts of each other. That the lion eats the scary tiger shows the enhanced power of the lion and its ability to drive away sundry evil spirits.

Ogwangdae, literally “five clowns,” is performed in areas west of the Nakdonggang River, the former Gyeongsangwu-do Province, whereas *deulnorem* is performed east of the Nakdonggang River, the former Gyeongsangjiwa-do Province. Hence the two types of masked dance-drama have been handed down in two distinctly different regions. Furthermore, *ogwangdae* features mainly masked dance-drama, while *deulnorem* differs in that it is a village festival (*daedongnori*) consisting of a series of performance processes: the village rite, *gilnori*, dance (*hanmadang chumnori*), masked dance-drama (*talnori*), and the rite of burning masks. Thus, *deulnorem* and *ogwangdae* are of different genres. Such *deulnorem* first started with Suyeong Yaryu. Suyeong Yaryu proceeds in a similar way to Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori, the masked dance-drama part of a communal rite to pray to the village tutelary deity for peace and prosperity in the village, and has great similarity to *ogwangdae*. Suyeong Yaryu takes characteristics of agricultural rites that can be assumed from its name, *deulnorem* (lit. playing in the field). It also has features of a ritual since the performance process involves events like *dongje*, a village tutelary ritual, and ritual dances to drive away evil spirits like *talchum*. Therefore, Suyeong Yaryu is a masked dance-drama like *ogwangdae* and

at the same time maintains traces of ritual masked dance like Hahoe Byelos-ingut Talnori, taking on a unique character that falls somewhere between the two. Suyeong Yaryu is a masked dance-drama with many traces of ritual and bitter satire of the noblemen. Compared to Dongnae Yaryu, the masks are stylized and simple. The dance in both performances is based on *deotbaegichum*, and yet the dance of Dongnae Yaryu is stylish and technically flamboyant, being the dance of idle noblemen (*hallyang*) whereas the dance of Suyeong Yaryu is simple and plain as a dance of the ordinary people. While a lot of dance is featured in Dongnae Yaryu to boost the excitement of the performance, in Suyeong Yaryu the same effect is achieved with songs and poems sung to music.

Suyeong Yaryu is an historical legacy and at the same time an example of traditional culture that remains alive today. In the agricultural age, it mainly served as a ritual to pray for peace and a good harvest; in the late Joseon Dynasty it played the social role of satirizing the inconsistencies of society; and during the period of Japanese colonial rule it functioned as a people's cultural movement to promote patriotism and independence.

Seonanggut Talnori

서낭굿탈놀이

Masked dances and drama related to rites to the village guardian deity.

In the narrow sense *seonanggut talnori* refers to the masked dance-drama, that is performed at village communal rites to the tutelary deity (*seonanggut*), but in the broad sense it encompasses both the rites and the masked dance-drama performance.

Seonanggut is a religious ceremony but various other performances are also held along with the rite and these are given the generic name *gut nori*. That is, *gut nori* has been handed down as a comprehensive festival in which it is difficult to

separate the (*gut*) rite from the *nori* (performance). That all traditional Korean festivals are rooted in or are a form of *seonanggut nori* is a characteristic feature of Korean culture. *Seonanggut nori*, or the *nori* that accompanies *seonanggut*, is not carried out to solve issues for any individual or a particular state of affairs but an act of faith to pray for the common wishes of the whole village or a group of people, a point that strongly expresses not the special nature of the rite but its universality. *Seonanggut talnori* is a type of the abovementioned *seonanggut nori* and corresponds to folk *talnori*, dramatic *talchum*, and commercial *talnori*.

One of the major forms of *seonanggut talnori* is Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori. The Hahoe village Gaksi (bride) mask is a model example of the personification of a deity. The tutelary deity worshipped at the village shrine (*seonangdang*) on Mt. Hwasan (Kor. 화산, Chin. 花山, lit. flower mountain) in Hahoe village, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province, is said to be a maiden “born in the Mujin year, of the Kim clan of Mt. Otosan in Uiseong.” She came to Hahoe from the nearby village of Wolae (Ingeum-ri, Pungcheon-myeon) to be married but her husband died when she was 15 years old and she became a mountain god. In the middle of Hahoe village stands a big zelkova tree, which the locals considered to be a divine tree and so they bowed to it all the time. This old tree is said to be where the spirit of the maiden Kim’s mother-in-law resides. It was her mother-in-law who was originally the guardian deity of Mt. Hwasan. But Kim’s mother-in-law gave the highest place (Kor. 상좌, Chin. 上座, lit. upper seat) to her daughter-in-law while she moved down to the lower village shrine (*sindang*). To interpret this in terms of myth, it can be seen that the deity Kim’s embodiment in real life and dramatic characterization is expressed in the Gaksi mask. When Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori is actually held, the performers offer a prayer at the shrine to the tutelary deity, place bells on the spirit pole *sindae* (Kor. 신대, Chin. 神木, lit. divine tree) and when the oracle is delivered, they begin to descend to the village. The procession down the mountain is tantamount to the start of the *talchum* performance. The actor who is playing the role of Gaksi, the bride, is the first to put on a mask, and she goes down the mountain standing on the shoulders of another performer. The bride deity is thus transformed into the bride mask. People bow to the actor in the bride’s mask and make their wishes. When Gaksi’s procession, which starts on the mountain, reaches the performance space in the village that’s when the *talchum* really begins. In the past, the performance ended with a scene of the bride on the first night of her wedding, performed as a

sort of secret rite (Kor. 비의, Chin. 祕儀, lit. secret rite). Held in the dark of night, a screen is put up and behind it the bride and groom spend their first night. The actors groan as if really having sex. Simulated copulation is interpreted as mock drama to pray for an abundant harvest for the village. The Hahoe masks, made during the mid-Goryeo Dynasty, have been designated National Treasure No. 121 and are handed down to this day. These masks were stored in a special chest called *gamyongwe* (Kor. 가면궤, Chin. 假面櫃, lit. mask chest) in the attic of the village hall and taken out for use when the *byeolsingut* was performed. Since the designation of the masks as a national treasure, replicas have been made and these are now used in performances instead. Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori as it is performed today proceeds in the order of the following acts: *mudong* (Kor. 무동, Chin. 舞童, lit. dancing child) act, when the performer wearing the bride's mask enters standing on the shoulders of another performer; Juji act, in which a tiger and lion fight each other or two lions fight; Baekjeong act in which the butcher (Kor. 백정, Chin. 白丁) kills an ox and sells its meat; Halmi act, where the old lady yearns for her youth; Pagyeseung act, where the monk breaks his vows when he is sexually attracted to Bune; Yangban and Seonbi act, where the nobleman and scholar fight over Bune; and the wedding and first night act, which depicts the bride and groom on the fight night of their wedding.

In Jain, Gyeongsan, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province the Jain Dano festival is handed down. Until 1971 it was held under the name Hanjanggun nori (Festival of General Han), designated Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 44, then in 2007 it was renamed Gyeongsan Jain Danoje. General Han, who played a large role in repulsing Japanese pirates, appears to have been a real historical figure from this area. To honor his achievements, *seonanggut nori* held in Jain annually on Dano Day (fifth day of the fifth lunar month) was expanded into the large regional festival that it is today. During the Japanese occupation period, it included remnants of a Confucian-style graveside rite to General Han (Kor. 한묘제, Chin. 韓廟祭, lit. Han graveside rite) and a women's dance *yeowonmu* (Kor. 여원무, Chin. 女圓舞, lit. women's circle dance). The Japanese pirates who invaded Jain in the ninth century during the Unified Silla period built a fortress on Mt. Docheonsan and harassed the local people. General Han, with the help of his sister, staged a splendid performance of *yeowonmu* and *gwang-daenori* (masked performance) near the banks of Bodeulmot (Kor. 버들못, Chin. 柳池, willow pond). Legend has it that General Han annihilated the Japanese pirates, whose attention was distracted by the performances. Jain Danoje, the

Dano festival held in Jain, Gyeongsan each year, features Jain Palgwangdae Talchum (lit. masked dance-drama of the eight clowns of Jain) and various other folk performances and games. Though there are no confirmed facts regarding the origin of Jain Palgwangdae Talchum it is presumed to have started long in the past in connection with the masked performance that accompanied village rites to the tutelary deity. The characters appearing in Jain Palgwangdae, including Jessi (*yangban* of the family name Je), his wife Ryussi (of the family name Ryu), his concubine Ppelssi (of the family name Ppel), his servant Malttugi (by the family name of Kkol), all have rather peculiar names and their performance is strongly comedic. Currently Jain Palgwangdae consists of three acts: the first act featuring Jessi and Malttugi; the second act dealing with conflict between the wife of Ryussi and Jessi's concubine; and the third act featuring a performer walking on a tightrope on the ground and exchanging jokes with a clown and a hunchback.

The *ipchun talgut nori* performed on Jeju Island corresponds to *seonanggut* (village rite to the tutelary deity) held on the mainland. Every year, part of the *gut nori* celebrating *ipchun*, the seasonal division marking the onset of spring, is performed at Gwandeokjeong in the city of Jeju, but much of its original flavor and content has been lost. Records of past performances show that it was much like *seonanggut talnori*. Every year at *ipchun*, all the shamans on the island and government officials would gather at Gwandeokjeong, which was the official government office in charge of holding the event. On the night before, a rite was held to a wooden cow (Kor. 목우, Chin. 牛神), which represented the cow god Usin (Kor. 우신, Chin. 牛神) and had been made beforehand. This was done to pray for the cow, as a domestic animal, to help the crops to grow well. Various mock farming procedures were acted out with shamans pulling the wooden cow and the village chief tying his plow to the cow and plowing the fields. A figure wearing a red mask sowed the seeds while another figure disguised as a bird, dressed in feathers, pecks at and eats the seeds, and another figure disguised as a hunter shoots the bird. Then two women wearing women's masks appear and fight, showing jealousy over each other, then two men appear and try to break up the fight in a comic way. Their names of the men and women are Oetgwangdae, Bitgwangdae, Chorangwangdae, Galchaegwangdae, and Halmigwangdae, with *gwangdae* meaning "clown" or "masked performer." At the end of every act featuring these *gwangdae*, shamans appear to sing shaman songs and pray for the welfare of the village, an abundant harvest and a plentiful catch of fish. Currently,

ipchun gut nori consists of the following acts: *georigut*, or a street procession by the performers starting at the entrance of the village to the performance venue, Gwandeokjeong; start of the rite by the head shaman of the village, *dohwangsus*, who opens the door for the deity and rubs her hands together in prayer; and *seoksallimgut*, where the people and the gods play together to the Jeju shaman song “Seoujetsori,” in a performance that brings the government officials and the common people together.

Bukcheong Sajanori (Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 15) is a masked dance-drama performed on Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the year, in the villages of Bukcheong, Hamgyeongnam-do Province. The lion and Buddhist ritual song and dance *giak* (Kor. 기악, Chin. 伎樂, lit. crafted music), which was transmitted to the Korean peninsula along with Buddhism, are closely related. This is why the concepts “Buddhist lion” and “*giak* lion” were established. But in Bukcheong, *sajanori* (lion masked dance-drama) was rather adopted under the concept of *jisinbabgi* (treading on the earth gods), a folk rite to ward off misfortune as part of the rite to the tutelary deity held at the beginning of the New Year and performed as a seasonal custom. The lion mask is the most representative of all animal masks. In the villages of Juksang-ri (Daetbeol), Hupyeong, Seo-ri, and Toseong-ri in Bukcheong, the lion mask has the appearance of a tiger or cat. In Janghyang-ri (Norumogi), Yangga-ri, and Yangcheonsa-geori, the lion looks like a monster. In Cheonghong-ri, the lion mask is covered in dragon scales of five colors. These lions were not like the realistic lion of the five colors of the five directions as we see today but the physical manifestation of the god in charge of exorcising demons (Kor. 벽사신체, Chin. 辟邪神體) in folk religion. Through *sajanori*, all the bad fortune of the past year was expelled while praying for good fortune and a good harvest in the new year. Currently Bukcheong Sajanori is performed in two acts, the *madangnori* act and the *sajanori* act. The first act features *madangdori*, which means all performers stand in a big circle and dance, as well as the Aewonseong dance, dance of *sadang* (female itinerant entertainer) and *geosa* (lay believer), dance of young children (*mudongchum*), hunchback’s dance (*kkopchuchum*), and sword dance (*kalchum*). The *sajanori* act consists of the lion’s dance, held in three parts, as well as *madangdori*, and *dwi-puri*, the celebratory performance at the end.

Also related to *seonanggut talnori* are the Gangneung Danoje, or Gangneung Dano Festival (Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 13) and Donghaean Byeolsingut (Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 82-a), or East Coast

Byeolsingut. The rites associated with the Gangneung Dano Festival are a sort of *seonanggut* but Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk, which constitutes the festive part of the event, has been handed down from ancient times as a remnant of performances held to wish for a good harvest and catch of fish. The two characters called Jangjamari that appear during the masked dance can be regarded as the physical manifestation of the god in charge of exorcising demons in folk religion, while conflict between the Yangban and Sisittaktagi over Somae Gaksi is clearly a remnant of ancient fertility rites for a good harvest and good catch of fish, which have sexual connotations. Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk consists of one act featuring the dance of Jangjamari and the *madangttakgi* or “yard cleaning” dance, one act where Sisittaktagi interferes with the couple and Somae Gaksi ends up winding the hair of the Yangban’s beard around her neck, killing herself when accused of being unfaithful, and the final act where Sisittaktagi brings the divine pole of the village tutelary deity (Kor. 서낭신목, Chin. 神木, lit. divine tree) and brings Somae Gaksi back to life.

The East Coast Byeolsingut is composed of numerous acts proceeding in the following order: *jejeongut*, a rite to purify the performance space; *hwa-haegut*, a rite to pray for reconciliation between the gods and human beings; *sejeongut*, which recreates the shamanic myth of the Maiden Danggeum (Danggeumaegi); *josanggut*, which is held in honor of the ancestors; *seongjugut*, a rite to the household guardian god; *cheonwanggut*, a rite to the Buddhist heavenly kings featuring performance of *dorigang gwanwonnori*; *simcheonggut*, a rite to cure eye diseases; *notdongigut*, a performance held holding a brass basin in the mouth; *sonnimgut*, a rite to cure smallpox; *gyemyeongut*, which retells the story of Grandmother Gyemyeon, an ancestor of the shaman; *yongwanggut*, a rite to the Dragon King; and *georigut*, where all the sundry spirits are fed at the close of the rite. In the large variety of rites that make up the East Coast Byeolsingut, various implements called *gajangmul* (Kor. 가장물, Chin. 假裝物, lit. objects for false adornment) made of paper or straw are used for transformation and disguise. Two performances that can be called independent masked dance-dramas have also been handed down among the many acts. The first is *dorigang gwanwonnori* (also called Seoulaegi *talgut*) featuring a wide range of characters such as Seoulaegi (the concubine), Halmi (wife), Yangban (husband), Malttugi (Yangban’s eldest son), Ssakupuri (Yangban’s second son), Eodungi (Yangban’s third son), the doctor and the blind man. The other is *beomgut* (lit. tiger rite), which is held to prevent tiger related disasters and is therefore also called *hotalgut*. A male singer



Cow bargaining (Yangju Sonorigut) | Yangju in Gyeonggi-do Province | 2016 | National Folk Museum of Korea

called *hwaraengi*, who is the shaman's husband, appears wearing a tiger mask made of paper and dances with the menacing moves of a beast of prey as he makes to catch a chicken. Another shaman's husband dressed as a hunter chases the tiger holding a gun. Finally, the tiger is shot and killed. The hunter removes the tiger's skin and sells it to the villagers, who then proceed to burn it. All the while the shaman sings songs that are very realistic and simple.

Muan Yonghonor (Intangible Cultural Heritage of Gyeongsangnam-do Province No. 2) is handed down in Muan, Miryang. This masked dance-drama performed at Jeongwol Daeboreum was a kind of rite to ward off evil and has become the representative folk game and masked performance symbolizing the battle between the dragon (*yong*) and the tiger (*ho*). The village of Muan is divided into east and west to form two teams which engage in tug-of-war with giant ropes: the blue dragon (Kor. 청룡, Chin. 雄龍) of the east, the male rope, and the white tiger (Kor. 백호, Chin. 雌虎) of the west, the female rope. *Jisinbabgi*, the rite of treading on the earth gods to ward off evil and bring good fortune, was held as a form of rite to the village tutelary deity before the tug-of-war took place. Riding on the tope of the eastern team was a performer wearing the mask of a golden sheep (Kor. 금양, Chin. 金羊), the prey which the tiger was fond of. Riding on the western team's rope was a performer disguised as cintamani (Kor. 여의주, Chin. 如意珠, lit. wish fulfilling pearl), which the dragon coveted. Aside from these, other masked characters (Kor. 가장대, Chin. 假裝隊, lit. disguised group) such as *obangsinjang* (guardian gods of the five directions: north, south, east, west and the center), a monk, a leper, an old woman and an old man come out and dance. The village farmer's music troupe also came out playing percussion music and formed a procession. In the main part of the performance, the two teams each pull on the end of the rope. At the head of each rope sits the leader of each team holding a wooden figure of a dragon and tiger, respectively. The fierce battle is a spectacular sight. From ancient times it has been believed that the female side must win to bring a good harvest. Muan Yonghonor as it is performed today proceeds in the following order of acts: First, the two teams blow their trumpets and beat on the victory drum three times. Then everyone enters the performance space and performs *jisinbabgi*. Second, performers from each team prepare to fight by going to the other side's territory to mock and tease them, provoking them to pick a fight. Third, the two teams carry in the big ropes representing the dragon and the tiger and pray for victory. Fourth, the actual tug-of-war takes place. Finally, when the winner is decided the two teams

make peace with each other and everyone dances and has a good time, releasing all their stress.

Chiriseom Byeolsingut from Tongyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province, used to be performed every second year. It consisted of the *maegugut*, with the whole rite performed on a boat, and *mangseok talnoreum*, a masked dance-drama featuring conflict between the old lady, the monk and a young woman called Somae. Through sexual expression the performance reflected prayers for a good catch of fish.

Baeyeonsingut and Daedonggut (Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 82-b) have been handed down in the west coast region as a type of fishing rite. It is the same type of rite as *haesindanggut* (village rite to the god of the sea) and *pungeogut* (rite for a plentiful catch of fish), which is similar to the East Coast Byeolsingut. The two rites are famous as those performed by the shaman Kim Geumhwa (金錦花), who is originally from North Korea. *Baeyeonsingut* is a rite held when a newly built boat is put to sea for the first time. This boat floating ceremony is called *jinsusik* (Kor. 진수식, Chin. 進水式, lit. water entering ceremony). *Daedonggut* is a village rite that is handed down in the coastal parts of Pyeongan-do Province and Hwanghae-do Province, North Korea. The major deity honored in the rite was General Im Gyeongjeop while various other gods were also invoked. Following the Korean War and Kim Geumhwa's coming to the South, *baeyeonsingut* and *daedonggut*, which were held to pray for the safety of newly produced boats and ships (Kor. 신조선, Chin. 新造船, lit. newly made boat), were combined and developed into a large-scale fishing rite. Boat owners, in order to increase the catch of fish, gather funds for the rite and the villagers participate on a wide scale. A ritual office is established by the shore and on the day, the rite starts by receiving the village tutelary deity at the village shrine (*dangsanmaji*). When the tide comes in, the fishermen rush to take down their boat flags, which they had set up at the ritual office, and compete to take them back to their boats, a race which is called "taking down the boat flag." When the flag has been taken back to the boat, the boat is then driven out to the middle sea. The fishing rite then begins on the boat out at sea. Various other rites and performances can also be counted as folk drama. *Sodang jeseokgut* is a rite where the cosmetics and sewing articles of Sodang Aegissi (young lady Sodang) are used to console the maiden deity. *Hasein talnorigut* is performed by a shaman who wears the masks of an old man (Yeonggam) and an old lady (Halmi). In the performances of farmer's music and rites (*nongak*), the drama part performed by

actors called *japsaek* (Kor. 잡색, Chin. 雜色, lit. various appearances) has almost disappeared today. Records and other materials show that in the past, masked dance-drama by these actors made up quite a large proportion of the rite to the village tutelary deity. Aside, in various regions folk dramas were held by performers wearing masks: clowns wearing tiger and rabbit masks in Gwangju; clowns wearing tiger masks in Changmu-ri, Hwayang-myeon, Yeosu, Jeollanam-do Province; characters wearing wooden masks for the characters Daeposu (hunter), Yangban, Chambong (petty official), Halmi, Jorijung (monk), a prostitute and a character dressed in red (*bongjeoksam*) in Yeonggwang; characters wearing the masks of the Yangban, Jedae Gaksi (bride), Malttugi (servant), Nochinne (old man), Daeposu, Jorijung, and Tokki (rabbit) in Wian, Sandong-myeon, Gurye; characters wearing the masks of the Yangban, Jemiljip (concubine), Bibisae, Nochinne, Malttugi, Daeposu, Chorani, Jorijung, Gisaeng (female entertainer), and wild beast on Geomundo; and characters wearing paper masks of the Posu (hunter), Jorijung, and Changbu (prostitute) in Sopo, Jindo Island.

Gangneung Gwanno Gamyengeuk

강릉관노가면극

Masked dance-drama originally performed
by government slaves in Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province.

Masked dance-drama that was performed at the Dano festival on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month each year by *gwanno*, or local government slaves, in the Gangneung area of Gangwon-do Province during the Joseon Dynasty.

Gangneung Gwanno Gamyengeuk seems to have been performed mainly around Dano day on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month. According to a 1966 report on designation of cultural heritage, *hwagae* (a large ritual flag decorated with cloth of various colors) was set up when the main event of the festival be-

gan on the first day of the fifth lunar month, and performances continued for the next four or five days. A study by Akiba Takashi also shows that a masked dance-drama was performed from the first day of the fifth lunar month, with a *hawgae* made by Busacheong, the local government office. The report also says the masked dance-drama was performed in front of the main shrine to the village tutelary deities (*daeseonghwangsa*) on the fourth day and continued until Dano day.

In addition to the main shrine where 12 guardian deities were enshrined, the masked dance-drama was performed at other places in the Gangneung area. On the morning of Dano Day, *talnori* was performed in front of the main shrine and then the troupe moved on to the shrine to the deity of medicine (*yakguk seonghwangdang*), the office for ancestral memorial rites (*jegwancheong*) and to the shrine to the female tutelary deity (*yeoseonghwangdang*), holding the *hwage* high. Of these places, only the shrine to the female tutelary deity remains, and today *gamyeonjeuk* is performed at a Dano site near Namdaecheon Stream for four days.

Efforts to restore Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonjeuk began in 1965 and took concrete form through participation in the National Folk Arts Competition. When a report on designation of cultural heritage was drawn up in 1966, *gamyeonjeuk* was recognized as part of Gangneung Danoje, or Gangneung Dano Festival, on January 16, 1967. With Gangneung Danoje designated as Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 13, a system for transmission of Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonjeuk was firmly established.

Some research reports say Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonjeuk is entirely mimed and others say it contains a small amount of witty repartee (*jaedam*). Since it is performed without words, the characters make effective use of body movements. As for the musical accompaniment, relatively detailed historical materials remain. They show that a double-reed oboe (*nallari*), hourglass-shaped drum (*janggu*), small gong (*kkwaenggwari*) and large gong (*jing*) were played to five tones and six semitones (*oem yungnyul*).

Six characters of distinct individuality appear in Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonjeuk: Yangban Gwangdae (masked nobleman), Somae Gaksi, (young woman), two Sisittaktagi (meddlers) and two Jangjamari (sack wearers). Yangban Gwangdae is a character used to satirize the lasciviousness or tease the foolishness of men of his class. In particular, the mask Yangban Gwangdae wears in Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonjeuk is slightly different from the masks of *yangban* (noblemen) in other masked dance-dramas. In Akiba Takashi's research,

Yangban Gwangdae wears a mask with tiger whiskers and a cap with a long horn. Also, *Report on Living Conditions by the Japanese Government-general of Korea* (Kor. 조선총독부 생활상태조사보고서) states that Yangban Gwangdae wears a horn-shaped cap made of pheasant feathers. Regarding this cap, Cha Hyeongwon argues that Yangban Gwangdae sometimes wore a scholar's cap (*jeongjagwan*). However, because several historical studies mention the horn-shape, it is highly likely that the cap is a *kkaldaegi jeongeon* (Kor. 전건, Chin. 戰巾, lit. war hat) worn by *najang* (Kor. 나장, Chin. 羅將, lit. low-ranking general) or a *jeolpunggeon* (conical hat) worn by men during the Goguryeo period. *Jeungsu Imyeongji* (Kor. 증수임영지), a local government chronicle, states that the *najang's jeongeon* has been preserved. A figure wearing a black peaked hat (*gokkal*) of the same shape as Yangban Gwangdae's *kkaldaegi* cap appears in *narye* (Kor. 나례, Chin. 儺禮, exorcism rite) held in the mountains of Guizhou, China. Considering this, Yangban Gwangdae may be a character that originated in *narye*. This presumption seems more likely when origin of the name Somae Gaksi is examined.

Somae Gaksi appears as the Yangban's counter role and is used to satirize his lasciviousness. A misunderstanding of Somae Gaksi stems from Akiba Takashi's report on Gangneung Danoje which records the name "Somu Gaksi" (shaman). Due to this error, Somae Gaksi has sometimes been regarded as a female shaman. However, though Akiba Takashi adopted Somu Gaksi (Kor. 소무각시, Chin. 少巫閣氏, lit. little female shaman) as a headword in his report, he was meticulous enough to write "Somai" in English in parentheses. The character "Somae" also appears in *Yongjae chonghwa* (Kor. 용재총화, Chin. 慵齋叢話, lit. collection of miscellaneous writings by Yongjae) written by Seong Hyeon, penname Yongjae. *Gyeongdo japji* (Kor. 경도잡지, Chin. 京都雜誌, lit. Magazine on Seoul) by Yu Deukgon contains the sentences "Somae is the old name of a beauty" (Chin. 小梅亦古之美女名) and "Gaksi is the word for 'woman' in Korean" (Chin. 閣氏者東語女子也). Therefore, Somae Gaksi in Gangneung Gwanno Gamyengeuk is presumed to have been borrowed from the name Somae (Kor. 소매, Chin. 小妹 or 小梅, lit. little sister or little female shaman) who appears in the *narye* rites.

Sisittaktagi is also called Susudaek, Sisittakttegi, Sisittakdaegi, Sisidakdeokgi or Susuttakttaegi, but it is not easy to identify the origin of this word. In Akiba Takashi's research, Sisittaktagi is depicted as wearing a scary wooden mask like that of *bangsangsi*, or the evil-repelling deity. *Bangsangsi* is also mentioned in another source. Apparently the two Sisittaktagi appear saying "*swisi swisi*" while a *ttaktagi* troupe means a performance troupe. Considering this, Sisittaktagi is



Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonggeuk | National Folk Museum of Korea

presumed to be a compound word of *sisi* (a word used to expel evil spirits) and *ttakttagi*. This character has the ability to exorcise demons. To expel sundry evil spirits as a means of preventing contagious diseases, the two Sisittaktagi appear wearing a mask painted with the five colors of the five directions and holding a club or sword painted with red clay (*hwangto*). Introducing *ogwangdaenori* (Kor. 오광대놀이, lit. performance of five clowns) in the Gangneung area, *Folk Entertainments of Joseon* (Kor. 조선의 향토오락, Jap. 朝鮮の郷土娯樂) authored by Murayama Chijun (Kor. 무라야마 지준, Jap. 村山智順) says that using a wooden doll in folk entertainments is symbolic of the prevention of infectious diseases. As this indicates, Sisittaktagi has a ritualistic nature, appearing to expel diseases around Dano.

Jangjamari, also named Jangjamal or Jangjaemal, is probably a compound word of *jangja* (Kor. 장자, Chin. 長者, lit. experienced person), meaning a nobleman, and *mareum* (nobleman's servant). The two Jangjamari make Yangban Gwangdae a humorous character and the performance comic. With their whole bodies covered with grayish blue sacks, they swing their bulging bellies around, enlarging the space for performance and making the audience laugh. The color

of their costumes is reminiscent of the land and the sea. Ears of grain and seaweed hanging off their clothes signify wishes for a good harvest and plentiful catch of fish. This type of character in a sack-like costume has religious functions, like Juji in Hahoe Byeolsingut nori and Jung Gwangdae (masked monk) in Tongyeong Ogwangdae. The divine masks used in Okinawa, Japan reportedly take this form as well. Therefore, the characters of Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonggeuk imply in their names and shapes the functions of *narye*, which are rites to dispel demons and welcome good fortune. And these functions reflect the original nature of masked dance-drama.

Sources say Jangjamari's dance movements are so-called *madangttakgi* dance, or "yard-cleaning dance," which is very unique. Along with this, Jangjamari also perform a flailing dance. The two pot-bellied characters dance as if threshing grain with a flail (*dorikkae*) to enlarge the performance space, or *madang*. Cha Hyeongwon's words help to guess what the dance was like: "The two Jangjamari enter the scene first. Then they do something as if they were cleaning the yard. They make such a wide space for the performance, and if the space is too small then they make the audience move backward in all directions and make it bigger.



Sisittakttagi act | Gangneung in Gangwon-do Province | 2014 | National Folk Museum of Korea

... It was just like threshing grain with a flail in the old days.” As for the dance movements of Yangban Gwangdae and Somae Gaksi, they dance modestly face to face and move their shoulders up and down to do the shoulder dance, according to historical research. This is consistent with what *Gyeongdo japji* says: “They always dance face to face. The man flaps the sleeves and the woman turns her hands upside down.” As Cha Hyeongwon puts it, “The woman moves first, raising her left foot. The man reacts, raising his right foot. Then the man and woman separate and stand on the left and right sides, and when they walk, they walk gracefully. They dance taking steps very gently like this and face each other like this. And then they turn together...”

Sisittakktagi's dance movements show what masked dance-drama symbolizes. Wearing a frightening colored mask, the two characters do the sword dance (*kalchum*) to ward off disaster. Also, they do a dance to interfere with Yangban Gwangdae and Somae Gaksi and a dance to seduce Somae Gaksi. About this dance, Cha Hyeongwon says, “They wear such a menacing mask and keep interfering with the couple, meddling with them this way and that.” Also, Kim Dongha says, “Each of the two Sisittakktagi had a knife made with a reddish



Reconciliation of Somaegaksi act | Gangneung in Gangwon-do Province | 2014 | National Folk Museum of Korea

willow branch and painted in red. They carried with them a knife this size. They carried the knife inside and then danced wielding it like this. So the knives suddenly appeared every now and then when they did this dance.”

Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonggeuk is roughly composed of five acts, or *madang*: the opening by Jangjamari, love between Yangban Gwangdae and Somae Gaksi, meddling by Sisittaktagi, Somae Gaksi's attempted suicide, and reconciliation between Yangban Gwangdae and Somae Gaksi.

The first act starts with the entry of two Jangjamari, who wear a sack-like mask and costume all over their bodies. Raising dust and sticking out their fat bellies, the two characters wander around to widen the performance space. Sometimes teasing the audience or telling people to sit down, they do a dance simulating copulation. Hanging off their costumes are ears of grain and seaweed. Their bellies are bulging due to a bamboo hoop inside their costumes. Jangjamari start the performance in a comic way, cleaning the yard and doing a humorous dance.

In the second act, Yangban Gwangdae and Somae Gaksi enter from either side. Wearing a peaked hat and stroking his long beard, Yangban Gwangdae appears in a decent and dignified manner and first approaches Somae Gaksi, seeking her love. Wearing a modest mask and dressed in a yellow jacket and a pink skirt, Somae Gaksi dances shyly. She is attracted to him too and they walk around with their arms around each other's shoulders.

This is followed by the third act in which two Sisittaktagi appear wearing scary masks. They enter the scene running from either side, vigorously performing the sword dance. Jealous of the love between Yangban Gwangdae and Somae Gaksi they conspire to intervene. So sometimes pushing or pulling the man and woman, the two Sisittaktagi meddle with the couple, finally separating them. Wearing frightening masks to expel evil, the meddlers dance wielding a small knife.

In the fourth act, in an effort to separate the couple one Sisittaktagi tries to play with Yangban Gwangdae and the other flirts with Somae Gaksi, asking her to dance with him, but she stubbornly refuses. Watching them, Yangban Gwangdae gets furious with her and worried but remains helpless. Then he pushes the two Sisittaktagi and drags her away. Somae Gaksi begs for his forgiveness but Yangban Gwangdae still scolds her. To prove her innocence, she winds the hair of his beard around her neck in an attempt to kill herself. Surprised at her suicide attempt to plead her innocence, Yangban Gwangdae takes pity and forgives



Somaegaksi | Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

her. The sight of Somae Gaksi winding the hair of his beard around her neck is humorous. Moreover, pulling his beard, the symbol of his authority, to make him accept her innocence is a comic expression that rises above death.

The final act features a scene of reconciliation. The couple clears up the misunderstanding and Somae Gaksi's innocence is proven due to Yangban Gwangdae's generosity and humor, as she has intended by attempting suicide. Thus, the masked dance-drama ends with a scene of happy reconciliation and unity in the community. The performance ends with the musicians and the audience all dancing together, holding the *hwagae*.

Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonguk is a masked dance-drama that is derived from *talnori* performed for the village tutelary deity, which is a religious ritual drama performed for the worship of Guksa Seonghwangsin (State Preceptor God) in Gangneung Danoje, which takes place at Dano. The only mime-style Korean masked dance-drama, Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonguk is performed solely with dance and body movements. This masked dance-drama is unique in that it was performed by *gwanno*, slaves attached to the Gangneung government office. *Gwanno* participated in the Dano festival because they seemingly played an important role in the event. *Gwanno* were counted among the three ritual libation officiants (*sambeongwan*) and some *gwanno* led the group of performers, playing the *taepyeongso* (double-reed wind instrument). Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonguk is a folk drama performed for *jehwa chobok* (Kor. 제화초복, Chin. 除禍招福, lit. removing disaster and bringing good luck) in the Gangneung area. It satirizes Yangban Gwangdae and stresses Somae Gaksi's fidelity. Also, it expresses wishes to ward off disaster through Sisittaktagi, who exorcise demons, and prayers for affluence through Jangjamari. Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonguk is meaningful in that, along with Andong Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori, it succeeds the tradition of Korean *talnori* performed for the village tutelary deity.

Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori

하회별신굿탈놀이

Masked dance-drama performed in Hahoe Village, Andong.

Masked dance-drama derived from shaman rites to the village guardian deity (*seonanggut*), a component of the *byeolsingut*, a large-scale communal village rite, performed in Hahoe, a clan village of the Ryu clan from Pungsan. It was carried out by performers of different family names.

Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori dates back to the Goryeo Dynasty and is the oldest of the masked dance-dramas surviving into the present. It emerged naturally in the Gyeongsangbuk-do region in the form of masked dance-drama based on rites to the village guardian deity.

Similar masked dance-dramas include Byeongsan Talnori, Sudong Byeolsingut, *byeolsingut* performed in Maryeong-dong in Andong, *habugut* performed in Jugok-dong in Yeongyang-gun, Yecheon Cheongdang noruem from Yecheon, and Gyeongsang Jain Palgwangdae. With the exception of Gyeongsang Jain Palgwangdae, they all have the nature of masked dance-dramas performed as part of self-sufficient village shaman rites.

The tutelary deity of Hahoe village is a 17-year-old maiden born in the Mujin year who has the nature of a goddess of fertility. She also has a tragic side, however. Masked dance-dramas performed at Jeongwol Daeboreum, the first full moon day of the year, are generally accompanied by a rite called *jisinbabgi*, which literally means “treading on the earth gods.” This is the case not only in Hahoe village but a common feature of *ogwangdaenori* (lit. performance of five clowns) and *deulnorem* (lit. field play) performed in the Gyeongsangnam-do region. Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori has the nature of *gut talnori*, or masked dance-drama performed as part of large village shaman rites called *byeolsingut*, to which strict taboos apply. In the past, shamans took a leading role in the performance. Acts such as the *gangsinsin* (invocation of the gods) act, wedding and first night act, *dangje* (rites at the village shrine) act, and *heotcheon georigut*, which are not masked performances, all reflect the nature of *gut talnori*.

Masks cannot be seen in Hahoe village at ordinary times. They are only brought out for the *talnori* season between the end of the year and Jeongwol Daebroeum, which falls on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month. The entertainers who performed the masked dance-dramas all lived together in the village hall, called *dongsa* (Kor. 동사, Chin. 洞舍, lit. neighborhood house) from the last day of the year to Jeongwol Daeboreum, returning home only for the ancestral memorial rites (*charye*) on New Year's Day. Every day they performed in front of the village hall or the home of a member of the Pungsan Ryu clan when invited. Then when Jeongwol Daeboreum came around they would set up a long spirit pole representing the village guardian deity (*seonangdae*) and head to the village shrines, *seonangdang* (upper shrine) and *guksadang* (middle shrine), to hold rites to the guardian deity. The rite was hosted by the ritual officiant, called *sanju*, who first prayed for the peace and prosperity of the village and burned a strip of paper (*soji*) to dispel misfortune. After holding the rite without masks, they put their masks on and performed around the shrine, hoisted on each other's shoulders. At night, when the rite to the guardian deity is over, the *seondangdae* and *naerimdae*, a bamboo stick used by shamans when a spirit descends and takes possession of them, are hung on the eaves. The performers take off their masks, put them back in the village storage, and return home.

In Hahoe, any words spoken while wearing a mask were treated as the words of the deities, and nobody could question the authority of the words delivered during a masked performance. Strict measures were taken to ward off misfortune. A taboo rope (*geumjul*) was hung around the village hall and red clay (*hwangto*) was spread on the ground, while the performers and ritual officiant abstained from eating meat. A pole called *sindae* (Kor. 신대, Chin. 神竿, lit. god post), a symbolic post on which the gods descend, was made and carried at the head of the troupe of performers as they went from house to house to collect grains (*geollip*) as donations. The strict taboos originate in the nature of the performance as part of a village shaman rite. The Hahoe masks, unlike those of other regions, are imbued with sacredness and are never discarded but repeatedly reused. Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori was generally held once every ten years or upon delivery of the oracle of the village deity (Kor. 신탁, Chin. 神託, lit. divine trust). In the last month of the year the ritual officiant, *sanju* (Kor. 산주, Chin. 山主, lit. mountain owner), would go to the village shrine, put up the spirit pole and ask the gods what they wished, and preparations for the *byeolsingut* would be held after gaining the permission of the village elders.

The *talnori* section of the Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori proceeds in the order of the following acts (*madang*): Mudong act, Juji act, Baekjeong act, Halmi act, Pagyeseung act, and Yangban and Seonbi act. Originally, the Mudong act was preceded by the Gangsin act, an offering rite, and often followed by the Dangje, and Wedding and First Night acts. These additional acts are left out at usual times, however.

First, in the Mudong act the performer wearing the bride's mask enters standing on the shoulders of another performer. The bride is a symbol of the guardian deity of Hahoe village, who is called Mujinsaeng Seongwangsin, and is represented here as a sacred being.

Second, the Juji act has the nature of a ritual dance to drive away evil spirits. The Juji character appears in *talnori* performed in Hahoe and in Yecheon Cheongdan noreum. Choi Namseon and Choe Sangsu saw this character as a lion and Lee Duhyeon saw this dance as a ritual lion dance performed to chase away evil spirits. However, considering that from the ancient Silla period the names Saja (Kor. 사자, Chin. 獅子, lit. lion) and Sanye (Kor. 산예, Chin. 狻猊, lit. lion) were used while Juji was not, it would be reasonable to see Juji not as a lion but a different mythical creature. In Hahoe, Juji appear as a male and female pair.



Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori | National Folk Museum of Korea



Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori | Japanese colonial period | National Folk Museum of Korea

The mask consists of a flat piece of wood with ten pheasant feathers attached to it, which the performers hold as they dance. Their costume consists of a rough hemp garment that is like a sack covering the whole body.

Third, the Baekjeong act features Baekjeong the butcher, who slaughters a bull, slits its stomach open and takes out its testicles, or *urang* (Kor. 우랑, Chin. 牛囊, lit. bull sack). Saying that the testicles make a wonderful medicine for men's energy, he tries to persuade someone to buy it. The Yangban (nobleman) and Seonbi (Confucian scholar) squabble over it while Halmi (old woman) scolds them on the side. This act seems to be a dramatic representation of the animal sacrifice offered to the gods during the village rites that has been inserted into the performance.

Fourth, in the Halmi act the old woman appears with a small gourd at her waist and a white towel on her head and wears a short top that leaves her stomach showing. She sits at the loom and sings the weaving song as she weaves cloth while complaining about her tough life. After a monologue about buying ten herrings at the market and eating nine of them herself while giving her

husband only one, she approaches the audience and holds out her gourd for donations. Halmi's personality features are reflected in the collection of donations (*geollip*) and the distribution of the herrings. Halmi's *geollip* is not simply begging but can be seen as a sacred ritual act, the act of collecting offerings for the gods. As a continuation of the village rite (*byeolsingut*), it is a way of pooling funds for holding the rite (Kor. 제비, Chin. 祭費, lit. expenses to offer sacrifices). In addition, Halmi's monologue about her monopoly of the herrings is an expression of not greed for food but strong determination to recover her reproductive ability as she grows weaker. Fish are generally perceived to be a symbol of fecundity, while herrings were a rare fish in the past.

Fifth, in the Pagyeseung act, Bune (concubine) urinates as soon as she appears. Pagyeseung, an apostate monk, watches furtively and is sexually aroused. He approaches Bune and runs away with her. A woman's urination represents the discharge of wastes from the body, or it can be considered as the act of seducing a man by revealing covert parts of the body. In most masked dance-dramas, it is usually Halmi who urinates but in Hahoe village it is Bune, a young woman, who performs this act. In agricultural society, a woman's urination was a symbol of abundance and the one who performed this act had the nature of a fertility god who controls water. This meaning can be deduced from the Maemae legend, where one of the sister's of General Kim Yushin married Kim Chunchu (King Muyeol of Silla) after "buying" her sister's dream of urinating; the Seongmo legend about Grandmother Mago, the heavenly mother of Mt. Jirisan; the legend of the giantess Seonmundae Halmang; the mass urination of women on top of a mountain during a rite to pray for rain (*giuje*), and the urination of women during *gut nori* (dance-drama performance as part of a shaman rite). Therefore, Bune's urination can be seen as a productivity rite, which serves as a prayer for abundance, or as the symbol of a sacred being. The coupling of Bune and the monk is a sacred union that brings productivity, but in later years the essence of this union was changed to abnormal sexual exposure and the fall of a monk due to a woman. In this respect, the original meaning of the union of Bune and the monk has been distorted and given a secular character.

Sixth, in the Yangban and Seonbi act, the Yangban appears with his servant Chorani while Seonbi appears with Bune, his concubine. Chorani harasses the two noblemen, introducing the Yangban and Seonbi to each other and then interfering and receiving their greetings himself. Both the Yangban and Seonbi boast of their rank and learning, and through word play they linguistically abuse

each other, changing the words *sadaebu* (the *yangban* class) to *paldaebu*, *saseo samgyeong* (four books and three classics) to *palseo yukgyeong*, and *munha sijung* (official rank) to *munsang sidae*. This act reveals conflict and differentiation among the ruling class and the consequent self-ridicule among them. In Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori, the servant Chonari does not go far beyond timidly ridiculing the language of the noblemen through bodily movements and witty remarks. Unlike the corresponding servant character Malttugi in other masked dance-dramas, he expresses no defiance of rank with strong linguistic satire, physical attacks, or reversal (Kor. 전도, Chin. 顛倒, lit. turn over) of rank and social position. This can be attributed to the fact that Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori was handed down as a village event exclusively in Hahoe, a clan village formed by the ruling class Ryu clan from Pungsan. Here *talnori* was handed down by people of different family names, and was only permitted to be performed, along with farmer's percussion music, in a limited period between New Year and Jeongwol Daebroem. At the beginning of the year, however, *talnori* ridiculing the *yangban* class was performed numerous times in the form of *jisinbabgi* at the homes of members of the Ryu clan, which can be seen as the result of compromise and mutual understanding between the *yangban* and non-*yangban* residents of the village of various family names.

In masked dance-dramas, the relationship between *yangban* masters and their servants is expressed in three forms: *yangban* dominated, mutual conflict, and servant dominated. Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori belongs to the *yangban*-dominated category. The *yangban* takes the lead while the servant engages in no more than timid ridicule, does not try to defy or deny their differences in social status, and is submissive to the *yangban*. Other masked dance-dramas of this type include Yecheon Cheondang noreum, Jain Palgwangdae, and Bukcheong Sajanrori. Most of them are *gut talnori*, that is masked dance-dramas closely connected with communal village rites that were performed for the enjoyment of the villagers. These performances generally took the form of communal rites to the village guardian deity (*seonanggut*) and were carried out inside the village. In this sense, they differ from other masked dance-dramas focusing on satire. Though the Yangban and Seonbi in Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori are both members of the highest ruling class, it is the Yangban rather than Seonbi, a scholar, who is a closer representation of the class of government officials that had a direct influence on rural society in reality. It is this point that shows differentiation even within the *yangban* class itself, which is a unique feature of



Pagyeseung act (apostate monk's act) | Andong in North Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea

Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori. As such, it is likely that the *yangban* and servant act was added at a later time than the other acts, which have the nature of ritual dance or magical wishing for abundance.

The *gangsinsin* act, where the spirits are invoked with an offering of incense and liquor at the ritual table, in recent times has been held in simplified form at *guksadang* (middle shrine) on the mid-slope of the hill behind the village, under the lead of the village preservation society. The final act, wedding and first night, takes place in the dark as the newly married couple simulate sex as a form of wishing for fertility and abundance. It is a kind of fertility rite held to console the soul of the 17-year-old maiden who is the village guardian deity.

The Hahoe masks are made of alder wood. Eleven traditional masks of ten characters have been handed down to the present: two Jiju, and one each of Gaksi (bride), Jung (monk), Yangban (nobleman), Seonbi (scholar), Chorani (servant), Imae (petty official), Bune (concubine), Baekjeong (butcher), and Hal-mi (old woman). These old wooden masks are noted for their sculptural beauty. On many of the masks, the chin was made separately to the rest of the face and later attached. The Imae mask has been handed down without the chin. A set of 13 masks from Hahoe and Byeongsan, representing 12 characters, have been collectively designated National Treasure No. 121. The music for is provided by traditional percussion instruments (*pungmul*) while the major rhythm pattern is the *semachi jangdan*, consisting of three sets of three-beat measures. The dance movements are simple overall and strongly improvisational.

Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori has the features of masked dance-drama performed along with rites to the village guardian deity that naturally emerged in



Gaksi (Bride)



Halmae (old woman)



Baekjeong (butcher)



Jung (Buddhist monk)

Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

the Gyeongsangbuk-do region, and basically takes the form of silent *gut talnori* as handed down through the large village rites called *byeolsingut*, held once every several years, which is marked by strict taboos. Looking at its performance characteristics, its basic language is mimed physical movements. Jung (monk), Juji, Bune, Imae, Baekjeong and Halmi are completely silent, or almost completely silent characters. The monk represents the loftiness of religion and hypocrisy, Juji the expulsion of evil, Bune external beauty and enigma, and Imae, Baekjeong, and Halmi the social isolation and weakness of the lower classes. If we look at the acts overall, they can be divided into mostly silent ritual dance acts (*gangsinsin, chukgwis*) with occasional spoken lines (showing internalization of conflict), and acts that are based on spoken dialogue as an expression of conflict. The Yangban and Chorani relationship, when examined based on the group of people through whom Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori has been handed down, is led by the Yangban while the servant Chorani only passively intervenes. The Yangban and Seonbi are characters focused on self-ridicule and disparagement. Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori as it is performed today is characterized by outstanding communication with the audience and a performance of the highest standard is held on weekends and even some weekdays. These days, more of the silent sequences are being turned into spoken ones, and greater commentary or explanation of the situations being acted out is provided. This increasing shift to spoken expression is particularly noticeable in the Imae, Baekjeong and Jung characters, but also to some extent in Halmi and Chorani. The trend of increasing commentary, however, leads to over-friendly explanation that places temporary limitations on the content and decreases dramatic imagination.



Yangban



Bune



Choraengi



Imae

Jain Palgwangdae

자인팔광대

Masked dance-drama from the Jain area in Gyeongsangbuk-do Province.

Masked dance-drama performed at the Dano festival on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month in the Jain area of Gyeongsan, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province.

Jain Palgwangdae (Kor. 자인 팔광대, Chin. 慈仁八廣大, lit. eight clowns of Jain) is performed as an additional entertainment in the form of masked dance-drama following a rite to commemorate General Han at Gyeongsan Jain Danoje (village ritual and festival held at Dano in Jain). After Jain Palgwangdae was last performed in 1936, its transmission was suspended for about half a century. And then in 1988, the masked dance-drama was restored. Therefore, this performance had not yet been restored in 1973, when the Jain Dano festival was designated



Jain Palgwangdae | National Folk Museum of Korea

as Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 44 under the name “Hanjanggun nori” (General Han performance). Currently, Jain Palgwangdae is performed along with the General Han festival as part of the Jain Dano festival.

The exact origin of Jain Palgwangdae is unknown. The local county chronicle *Jain eupji* published in the 1830s is the only document to record this masked dance-drama (*gamyongeuk*). According to the chronicle, *yeowonmu* (women’s circle dance) and various performances called *baeujaaphui* (Kor. 배우잡희, Chin. 俳優雜戲, lit. various performances and plays by actors) took place at the Dano festival to commemorate General Han, who defeated the Japanese invaders with the help of his sister. Regarding the Jain Dano festival held in 1936, Choe Sang-su says in his records that “after a costume parade, *yeowonmu*, and an ancestral memorial service [*jesa*] were held on Dano Day, performances and entertainments took place with performers singing songs [*sori*] and dancing, and acrobats showed their skills.” According to these records, until the 19th century Jain Palgwangdae was handed down in the form of *japhui* (various performances and plays) mainly by professional entertainers in the course of a rite held for General Han on Dano Day. At that time, clowns and acrobats performed masked dance-drama and acrobatic feats.



Yangban and his wife and concubine act | 2011 | National Folk Museum of Korea

In the early 20th century, however, the masked dance-drama and tightrope walking (*jultagi*) were gradually localized. This is reflected by the fact that local residents played a key role in masked dance-drama as early as the 1920s and that both a rope in the air and a rope on the ground were used for tightrope walking in the 1930s. That is, while *talchum* and *jultagi* were passed on primarily by professional entertainers (*yein*) up until the early and mid-19th century, in the early 20th century, *talchum* was already performed mainly by local residents and *jultagi* was in the process of being localized too. The transmission of Jain Palgwangdae was suspended after 1936, but after a long break of about 50 years, restoration efforts began in early 1985. A fully restored performance was held in 1988.

Jain Palgwangdae consists of three acts (*madang*): two *tal madang* (masked performances) and one *nori madang*, consisting of various folk entertainments. The two masked sections are the Yangban (nobleman) and his servant act, and the Yeonggam (old man) and Halmi (old woman) act.

The first act, featuring the Yangban and his servant Malttugi, is structured on conflict and reconciliation. In other existing *gamyongeuk*, acts related to the Yangban and his servant can be classified into two types: the *yangban*-led type, based on confrontation between the two, and the servant-led type. In Jain Palgwangdae, however, Malttugi, after a fierce confrontation with the Yangban, easily succumbs to and obeys him. It is therefore a variation of the *yangban*-led type.

The second masked performance features the Yangban, Halmi (his wife) and concubine, and is structured on union, conflict and reconciliation among the three characters. In other masked dance-dramas, Halmi-related acts are divided into four types: solo appearance of Halmi; union of Halmi and Yeonggam; union and separation of the two; and union and separation of Halmi, Yeonggam and his concubine. In Jain Palgwangdae, Yeonggam dies during an argument with his wife. After a shaman rite (*gut*), he comes back to life and all three characters are reconciled. In this respect, this act is classified as the fourth type. Also, Halmi, Yeonggam and his concubine clash at first but later make up with each other, which is similar to *talgut* (masked shaman rite) of the East Coast Byeols-ingut (large communal village rite).

The final act features Jul Gwangdae (masked tightrope walker) and Gopsa, a hunchback. The scene of tightrope walking on the ground seems to have been added later on, based on the tightrope walking by professional entertainers at the Jain Dano festival. Some locals say the tightrope walking scene was originally performed in the air in the 1930s but came down to the ground when the pro-

fessional performers died. In Jain Palgwangdae, the performer walks on a rope on the ground, imitating *jultagi* in the air and singing songs. However, the jokes he tells are different from those in usual tightrope performances. Jul Gwangdae asks the servant Kkolseobang questions like whether people played *geunettwigi* (swinging) and *neolttwigi* (game taking turns jumping on two ends of a wooden board) in the daytime. Also, he asks who was the winner of *ssireum* (wrestling) and won the bull as a prize.

Eight characters appear in Jain Palgwangdae: Jessi, a nobleman (*yangban*), Kkolssi (servant), Yussi (nobleman's wife), Ppaelssi (nobleman's concubine), Gimssi (petty official), Jul Gwangdae, Gopsa, and Mudang (shaman). These characters are similar to those who appear in other Korean *talnori*, but their personalities are somewhat different.

Jessi, though a nobleman, fights over social status with his servant Kkolssi. Moreover, he dies in the conflict involving his wife and concubine but comes back to life. Outwardly, he looks like any ordinary nobleman who appear in other masked dance-dramas. However, if examined more closely, he departs from type. Unlike ordinary *yangban* who brag about their learning and family and bluff, Jessi is a very explanatory and self-confessed character. Moreover, he is sometimes viewed as an idle nobleman who travels throughout the country like Malttugi or the eight depraved monks (Palmeokjung). And other times, he openly expresses his love for his concubine with jokes and witty remarks. He even leads the performance, playing host. On the other hand, after the nobleman comes back to life, he apologizes to his wife, who was the one who killed him, and suggests that they sing a song of reconciliation. As described, Jessi slightly differs from the typical nobleman who appear in other masked dance-dramas.

The servant Kkolssi swears at his master harshly and then suddenly gives in and obeys him. Also, Kkolssi has a dual nature. He introduces a woman to his childless master, making him accept her as his concubine and then informs his wife of the fact. Thus Kkolssi is also somewhat distinguished from Malttugi and other typical servants who appear in other masked dance-dramas.

Jessi's wife, Yussi, appears as her husband's assailant in conflicts with his concubine, Ppaelssi. However, though Yussi makes her husband die, she helps him come to life again later and easily makes up with his concubine. Meanwhile, Ppaelssi is a character who is tempted by the nobleman to become his concubine. Unlike other concubines who say nothing in typical masked dance-dramas, Ppaelssi speaks in this one.

As for the Mudang, the male shaman brings Jessi back to life by holding shaman rites, or *gut*, including *daenaerim*, which is the descent of the gods via a divine pole, and *judang gut* (rite to repel evil spirits). In other regions, a shaman rite to guide the deceased safely to the next world is held for Halmi after her death. In Jain, however, a shaman rite is carried out to bring the nobleman back to life.

Jain Palgwangdae is mostly structured on conflict and reconciliation. However, the scenes do not unfold smoothly. The nobleman and Malttugi make up with each other somewhat one-sidedly and awkwardly. And the process of union, conflict, separation and reconciliation among the nobleman, his wife and his concubine is rather artificial and forced. Jain Palgwangdae is a completely verbal performance, while *talnori* accompanying rites to the village tutelary deity are primarily mimed. Even the concubine is a completely verbal character in this masked dance-drama, unlike others where she uses mostly movements.

What is the reason for this difference? One reason may be the difference in the way Jain Palgwangdae was established compared to *gamyongeuk* in other regions. Preserved by professional entertainers until the 19th century it may have changed during the process of localization by villagers in their own way in the 20th century. On the other hand, the difference may have been caused by the addition of some newly created scenes in the course of its restoration. In other words, due to the long discontinuity of approximately 50 years and the limited memory of those giving oral testimony to the masked dance-drama, some parts were inevitably made up. This is reflected in the artificiality of the jokes and unconventional aspects. Thus, scholars need to more closely study the transmission and restoration of Jain Palgwangdae in the future.

Though the exact origins of Jain Palgwangdae are not known, a few presumptions are possible. The masked dance-drama may have derived from *ogwangdae* or *yaryu* (lit. playing in the field) of Busan, Gyeongsangnam-do Province; the *talgut* part of *byeolsingut* performed on the east coast; the *talnori* part of *seonang-gut* (rite for the village tutelary deity) from inland Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; or from other newly created *talnori*. Considering the composition of acts, it is similar to *yaryu* as it has no monk-related act and places much emphasis on the the Yangban act and the Halmi and Yeonggam act, as in Busan *yaryu*. In particular, the act featuring the person suffering leprosy and Yeongno (monster) in *yaryu*, not included in Jain Palgwangdae, was not considered important when the *yaryu* was restored. Meanwhile, the scene where the relationship between Halmi, Yeonggam and his concubine changes from conflict to reconciliation

is similar to that in the *talgut* part of East Coast Byeolsingut. In *talgut*, Halmi and Yeonggam meet again and conflict arises between Halmi and his concubine Seoulaegi. In this process, Yeonggam dies but comes back to life thanks to a shaman rite, and a scene of reconciliation unfolds. Therefore, Jain Palgwangdae is partially related to the *talgut* part of East Coast Byeolsingut in its content and to Busan *yaryu* in the composition of acts.

Jindo Dasiraegi

진도다시래기

Performance of music, dance and drama held at a house of mourning in Jindo.

Musical dance-drama (Kor. 가무극적, Chin. 歌舞劇的, lit. consisting of songs, dances and drama) performed in the yard of a house of mourning the night before the funeral procession, or *chulsang* (Kor. 출상, Chin. 出喪, lit. carrying a bier out).

The word *dasiraegi* is said to have originated from *dasinagi* (giving birth again), *dasirak* (Kor. 다시락, Chin. 多侍樂, lit. many people having fun together), or *dae-siraegi* (waiting for the soul of the deceased to leave). As the name implies, *dasiraegi* seems to be a folk drama related to soothing the sad atmosphere of a house in mourning and consoling mourners for their loss.

Dasiraegi has been handed down as part of festivals to bid farewell to the dead with songs and dances. Festival-style funerary rites have been preserved in the islands off the southwestern coast of Korea, including Jindo. It may seem that the folk drama is passed on in a limited area these days, but up until the early and mid-20th century it was a common tradition for members of the local funeral aid association (*sangdugye*) to carry an empty bier on their shoulders and sing and dance.

Dasiraegi has been handed down by performers of the village funeral aid as-

sociation. In the southwestern coastal areas, villagers would gather at a house of morning and present performances, singing, dancing and playing the barrel drum (*buk*) and the hourglass-shaped drum (*janggu*). Particularly when someone had died peacefully of natural causes or the bereaved family was wealthy, outstanding entertainers were invited to hold performances, including *dasiraegi*. If the bier bearers, or *sangdukkun*, were able to perform *dasiraegi*, they presented it on their own. If not, famous performers were invited from neighboring villages to organize a troupe. However, not all the members of the troupe were invited to take part. Rather, it is believed that performers were invited mostly for the role of Geosa and Sadang (male and female itinerant entertainers), characters that the villagers were incapable of playing.

Dasiraegi is a performance that carries on the festival-style funerary tradition. Jindo *Dasiraegi*, in addition to the bier carrying performance (*sangyeonori*, lit. bier play) and ground digging performance (*garaenori*, lit. spade play) presented in other regions, has some unique episodes. In particular, it features different roles called Geosa and Sadang and their performance (*geosasadang nori*) accounts for the core of the musical dance-drama. The names Geosa and Sadang and the content of their performance show that *dasiraegi* is closely related to the performances of male itinerant entertainers, or *namsadang*. Also, “*Dasiraegi sori*” (“*Dasiraegi Song*”) is characterized by *gyeongtori* (a style of music unique to Seoul and Gyeonggi-do Province), which was traditionally presented by troupes of itinerant female entertainers, or *sadangpae*. These characteristics indicate the connection between *dasiraegi* and performances by itinerant entertainers.

In Jindo, two forms of *dasiraegi* have been handed down: one has been designated Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 81; the other is a recording by Kim Yangeun (金良殷, male, 1892-1985), who was a *dasiraegi* performer. The version of *dasiraegi* designated as cultural heritage consists of five episodes in order: *gasangjenori*, *geosasadang nori*, *sangyeonori*, *garaenori*, and *yeoheung*. In *gasangjenori* (performance of a fake chief mourner), the fake chief mourner appears and explains the purport of the performance. He is followed by Geosa, Sadang and the Monk who, one by one, show off their skills. The next episode features a love triangle between the blind man, Geosa, Sadang (wife), and the Monk, with the wife giving birth to a baby. This is followed by the bier bearers singing “*Sangyeotsori*” (“*Bier Bearers Song*”) as they carry the funeral bier on their shoulders. In *garaenori*, performers act out a burial rite as they dig the ground with spades to bury the body. The performance ends with *yeoheung*, or *dwinori*,



Jindo Dasiraegi | National Folk Museum of Korea

in which all the performers and audience play together. No two performances are the same. As an integral part of *dasiraegi*, *gasangjenori* and *geosa sadangnori* are always performed but the other episodes are changeable. “Sangyeotsori” is sometimes replaced with a bier song sung by performers when they appear at the start of the performance. And *garaenori* is not performed separately. Also, instead of *yeoheung*, a performance of barrel drums (*buk nori*) or song by professional singers (*japga*) is performed immediately after *gasangjenori*.

These days the performance starts with the barrel drum performance, *pansori* (narrative song by a solo artist), or folk songs. Then the fake chief mourner appears to really start the performance. This scene is followed by dances and songs by Geosa and Sadang, and a witty exchange on love triangles between Geosa, Sadang, and the Monk. *Dasiraegi* ends with Sadang giving birth to a baby. In Kim Yangeun’s oral version of *dasiraegi*, two Sadang, two Geosa, one old woman, two fake chief mourners, and one blind fortuneteller appear. This performance is composed of *sogo* (hand-held drum) *batangnoreum*, *geosa sadangnori*, Sadang’s childbirth, and *iseulteori* (bier play), and its contents and relationships between the characters differ greatly from those of typical *dasiraegi*. *Batangnoreum* is a



Geosa sadangnori | Jindo in South Jeolla-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

performance by Geosa and Sadang who play the *sogo* while preparing the space for the performance. In *geosasadang nori*, two Geosa holding *sogo* stand face to face with two Sadang holding a small empty table and a liquor bottle and they sing a song called “Sageori.” In the performance of Sadang’s childbirth, Sadang suddenly feels labor pains so the old woman (Sadang’s mother) consults a blind fortuneteller (Kor. 문점, Chin. 問占, lit. asking one’s fortune). While chanting sutras, the fortuneteller is served food that was set on a ritual table. The fortuneteller lets the bier bearers share the food and after telling some jokes, Sadang gives birth to a baby. The final episode is *iseulteori*, in which bier bearers eat chicken porridge and play a while before they carry an empty bier on their shoulders and go around the yard singing a dirge.

Dasiraegi is characterized by witty conversations, dances, and performances that take place in the yard of a house of mourning. It is notable for its funeral context and rather radical contents. Particularly noteworthy are the extraordinary sexual expressions and the meaning of childbirth presented in *geosasadang nori*. Dancing and singing at the home of the deceased may be seen as the process of culturally accepting death. In particular, the sexual jokes and childbirth scene are theatrical settings that contrast with death. *Dasiraegi* performed at a house of mourning represents overcoming loss from death with sexual vigor and the birth of new life.

Jindo *Dasiraegi* has the condensed meaning of a farewell festival to overcome loss and grief stemming from death by singing and dancing and to live again with vitality. At a farewell festival, death is not something an individual suffers alone but a communal incident. The festival is therefore a social performance designed to heal the sense of loss in a social relationship. The local community presides over the entire process from the moment of death to the funeral, using both tangible and intangible systems and practices. Also, the community holds the funeral by combining rites and artistic performances according to circumstances. In this sense, a farewell festival is viewed as a collective performance to embrace death more deeply and pray to be free from death at the same time. By holding the event, members of the community express a very positive sense of the lives they will lead again after the farewell. Therefore, a farewell festival contains the folk philosophy of healing the pain of loss through artistic performances and social relations and taking a positive attitude toward life.

Yecheon Cheongdan noreum

예천청단놀음

Mimed masked dance-drama from Yecheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province.

Mime-style (Kor. 무언, Chin. 無言, lit. non-verbal) masked dance-drama (*talnori*) handed down in Yecheon-eup, Yecheon in Gyeongsangbuk-do Province.

According to an orally transmitted folk tale, Yecheon started when the young wife of an old man who lived in Jeolla-do Province ran away from home. After his wife left, the old man lay sick in bed. Heartbroken over his sick father, the old man's son organized a troupe of entertainers (*noripae*) and wandered all over the country in search of his stepmother, or *seomo* (Kor. 서모, Chin. 庶母). Finally, he found her in Yecheon but she refused to return home. His troupe killed her and then left. Afterwards, a disaster occurred because of her grudges. Aware of how things had happened, the county governor held a rite for her and had her stepson's masked dance-drama performed again, which successfully got rid of the disaster. Since then, this rite for the young wife and Cheongdan noreum are said to have been performed in Yecheon every year to pray for the welfare of the county.

In Yecheon Cheongdan noreum, 23 performers appear: two Buk Gwangdae (masked drummers), one Yangban and one Sadaebu (scholar-official), one Jjokbak Gwangdae (clown performing as a woman), two Juji Gwangdae (masked lion), four Jiyeon Gwangdae, one Jung Gwangdae (masked monk), one Eollebanga (servant), five *mudong* (child performers), and five *mudongkkun* (adult male carrying a child on his shoulders while the child is performing), along with several musicians. Each performer, excluding the *mudong* and *mudongkkun*, wears a mask or make-up to express the character he or she plays. Thirteen different masks are used: two Buk Gwangdae masks, one Jjokbak Gwangdae mask, two Juji Gwangdae masks, two *jujipan* (big fan-shaped plate), four Jiyeon Gwangdae masks, one Jung Gwangdae mask, and one Eollebanga mask. The Jiyeon Gwangdae mask is made of a winnowing basket, and the *jujipan* consists of a wooden plate and pheasant fur. All the other masks are made of dried gourds

cut in half. On the other hand, the Yangban does not wear a mask but a *baengnip* (white horsehair hat worn during mourning) and has a white beard to express the character he undertakes. Also, the Sadaebu wears a *jeongjagwan* (scholar's cap) and has a white beard to represent his character.

The costume is notable in that the performers and musicians are mostly dressed in *kwaeja* (long, sleeveless vest). All the performers wear a black *kwaeja* over their everyday clothes, except for characters such as the Yangban, the Sadaebu or Jjokbak Gwangdae who dress to symbolize their authority, status or gender. The musicians simply wear a sash of three colors over their ordinary clothes. Like the musicians, all *mudongkkun* wear their everyday clothes. Among the child performers, the girls are dressed in a skirt and jacket (*chima jeogori*) and the boys in pants and jacket (*baji jeogori*).

The contents of each act (*madang*) are as follows. The first act starts with a folk performance called *gwangdae pannoreum*. This signals the start of the performance, and features the two Buk Gwangdae who move as described below.

- ① The two masked drummers enter the scene and each beats the drums in front of him and then moves toward the drums on the opposite side.
- ② As they move they jump while holding the drumsticks high and tapping them together.
- ③ Once each reaches the opposite drums, he beats the drums for some time and then moves back again.
- ④ They repeat these movements several times.

Jjokbak Gwangdae also appears in this scene and plays a fixed role. Making conspicuous gestures and doing a dance with a frivolous look, Jjokbak Gwangdae moves wildly in and out of the performance space (*noripan*), pretending to look for someone. Then suddenly she grabs one of the other clowns by the collar, making the audience laugh.

This folk performance is followed by *haengui noreum* (Kor. 행의놀이, lit. play on conduct and morality), where the nobleman, scholar-official and Jjokbak Gwangdae appear. The nobleman and the scholar-official are characters insisting on their specious authority. The two men fight over Jjokbak Gwangdae, revealing their hypocrisy and self-contradictions. In this act,

- ① Jjokbak Gwangdae appears and dances.
- ② When the Yangban enters the scene, Jjokbak Gwangdae seduces him by dancing, and he finally responds and they dance together.

- ③ The Sadaebu who has been watching this scene while dancing alone interferes with the couple. After a long argument, he chases the Yangban away and dances with Jjokbak Gwangdae face to face.
- ④ Dancing near this couple, the Yangban seizes an opportunity to chase the Sadaebu away. Then once again the Yangban dances with Jjokbak Gwangdae face to face before he exits.

In this episode, Jjokbak Gwangdae's personality stands out. Unlike other female characters (Kor. 여역, Chin. 女役, lit. female role) which are mostly passive in other masked dance-dramas, she seduces the men very actively. The Yangban's appearance is also noteworthy. He is taking part in this performance although he is in mourning. This fact alone is enough for censure, but he even goes so far as to behave disgracefully, quarreling with the Sadaebu over Jjokbak Gwangdae, an ugly woman at that. The Yangban has no clever lines to speak but his appearance itself shows how hypocritical and contradictory he is. This is a dramatic device used to overcome the limits of a mimed performance.



Yecheon Cheongdan noreum | National Folk Museum of Korea

The next act features *jujinoreum*. Two Juji appear, each holding a *jujipan*, a big fan-like wooden plate. Fanning each other or the audience with the *jujipan*, they dance alone or face to face repeatedly without any dramatic conflict. This act unfolds as follows:

- ① Facing each other, the two Juji enter the scene, shaking the *jujipan* gently from side to side.
- ② Moving as if bringing the *jujipan* forward from the back of the head, they turn in each other's outward direction, walking with mincing steps.
- ③ They move forward, repeatedly raising and lowering the *jujipan*.
- ④ They dance with each other face to face while turning from side to side, shoulder to shoulder.
- ⑤ Bringing the *jujipan* downward and then gently winding it above their right shoulders, they turn their bodies.
- ⑥ Making movements ④ and ⑤, the two Juji move forward and backward repeatedly, facing forward or facing each other.
- ⑦ They exit on opposite sides, making movement ⑤.



Juji noreum | 2004 | National Folk Museum of Korea

Next comes *jiyeon gwangdae noreum*, where four Jiyeon Gwangdae appear, vigorously performing a ritual dance in various formations. This act unfolds as follows:

- ① The four performers stand in a formation of the four directions, or *sabang daehyeong* (fall on the right front, spring on the right back, winter on the left front, and summer on the left back), and shake their masks made of a winnow (*kital*) from side to side.
- ② Then they crouch and stretch out in a diagonal direction, holding the winnow mask.
- ③ Shaking the winnow mask from side to side, they run toward the front of the performance space.
- ④ While looking straight ahead, they shake the winnow mask up and down and then lift them up diagonally.
- ⑤ Making movement ③, they turn left and right, repeatedly gathering and dispersing.
- ⑥ They make a long formation of the four directions (winter, summer, spring and fall from the left) and put the masks on.
- ⑦ Doing a side jump, they flap their arms like wings.
- ⑧ They gently put their arms over their shoulders and then turn to the left and repeatedly sit and stand.
- ⑨ Walking ahead with their knees slightly bent, they stroke their beards exaggeratedly.
- ⑩ Putting their arms over their shoulders alternately, they exit running out to either side.

The next act features *eollebanga noreum*, where the Monk, Jjokbak Gwangdae and Eollebanga appear. As in typical acts featuring the monks, the Monk is seduced by the woman Jjokbak Gwangdae into violating the Buddhist precepts. However, here the Monk is caught and castigated by Eollebanga, who then flirts with Jjokbak Gwangdae. This act unfolds as follows:

- ① Eollebanga enters the scene and dances excitedly pretending to look for something and then exits.
- ② Jjokbak Gwangdae appears and sweeps the performance space.
- ③ At this moment, the Monk enters and sees her drawers stained with menstrual blood when her skirt flies up in the wind.
- ④ Aware of this, Jjokbak Gwangdae approaches the Monk, who puts on a straight face and avoids her.

- ⑤ Jjokbak Gwangdae keeps seducing him, and finally he reacts and happily dances with her.
- ⑥ When their dance is in full swing, Eollebanga appears and sees them. He scolds the Monk, shouting, “You blasted monk!”
- ⑦ Stunned by this voice, the Monk falls and trembles, and Eollebanga plays with Jjokbak Gwangdae.
- ⑧ The Monk exits with a sad look and Jjokbak Gwangdae and Eollebanga also leave the scene.

The final act is *mudong noreum*. This act features five pairs of *imudong* (Kor. 이무동, Chin. 二舞童, lit. two child performers) and proceeds as follows:

- ① The child performers move in a row, column or circle formation.
- ② They make passive dance movements, only swinging their arms.
- ③ When a certain point is reached, *daedong madang* (Kor. 대동마당, lit. act of collective play) unfolds, where *norikkun* (Kor. 놀이꾼, lit. players) and the audience all have fun together, dancing and playing.

The theme of Yecheon Cheongdan noreum addresses magical, religious issues as well as social issues. Such duality is common in Korean masked dance-dramas, but Yecheon Cheongdan noreum is distinguished in its aspect and degree. In the general evolution from a traditional shaman rite (*gut*) to a drama, most other *tal-nori* are closer to a drama than a rite. The magical and religious nature is weakened and the social aspect strengthened. However, Yecheon Cheongdan noreum is a masked dance-drama that is still much like a shaman rite (*gut*), maintaining its strong magical and religious nature while showing some social aspects.

This characteristic is found in the composition of its acts. Of the six acts, four convey a certain theme: *haengui noreum*, *juji noreum*, *jiyeon gwangdae noreum*, and *eollebanga noreum*. Among them, *juji noreum* and *jiyeon gwangdae noreum* are devoted only to realizing their shamanic and religious meanings without covering any social meaning. As for *haengui noreum* and *eollebanga noreum* corresponding to the *yangban* act and monk's act of other masked dance-dramas, they ostensibly address the social theme of satirizing *yangban* and an apostate monk's conceptual falsity. More deeply examined, however, the two acts have the magical and religious nature of praying for the welfare of a community by satisfying the unfulfilled sexual needs of the revengeful goddess who appears in the myth of the village god, thereby resolving her deep grudges.

Inhyeonggeuk

인형극

Puppet theater; performing art using puppets.

Puppet theater, an independent performing art where dramatic scenes are created using puppets as the main medium of expression.

Puppet theater is a form of drama using puppets in disguise (Kor. 가장, Chin. 假裝, lit. false costume) as various characters.

This means the puppet characters appear on stage and take charge of the performance.

There are not many examples of puppet theater as an independent performing art where the puppet characters appear on stage and lead the dramatic performance. Generally, Kkokdugaksinoreum, Manseokjung nori and *baltal* are included in this category of puppet theater, but they do not necessarily fit the definition above. In the case of *baltal*, masked puppet plays using the feet, not only does a human actor appear with the puppet characters, his role is quite significant. Likewise, in Manseokjung nori the puppet characters do not appear on the stage and perform in front of the audience in a life-like way; they are generally expressed in a two-dimensional way through shadows cast on a curtain and hence this form of art is also rather removed from real puppet theater. The only performance among those mentioned above that can be really called puppet theater is Kkokdugaksinoreum and other plays of the same type. For this reason, some argue that the term *inhyeonggeuk* should be changed to *kkokdugaksinori*, *kkokdugaksinoreum*, *kkokdugeuk*, *deolmi*, or Parkcheomji nori, after the main character, Park Cheomji. That is, it is argued that the title of the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum should be used as the generic name for puppet theater. Today, the only performance of Kkokdugaksinoreum and plays derived from it that we can access either directly or indirectly are Kkookdugaksinoreum as performed by groups of itinerant male entertainers (*namsadangpae*), Seosan Parkcheomji nori and Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk.

As to the origin of Korean puppet theater, one theory says it originated over-

seas, another says that it was self-generated in Korea, and yet another theory argues for something in between the two. In the early days of research, the idea that Korean puppet theater originated in a foreign country was dominant. It was argued that puppet theater was transmitted to Korea via India and the western regions and China and was then passed on from Korea to Japan. The idea of foreign origin was based on several common features between the puppet theater of China, Korea and Japan: that the structure of the stage and staging methods, and manipulation of the puppets is similar; that the main characters all have a strongly satirical, humorous, and comic nature; that the puppets are similar in form and are strongly connected to primitive faiths or Buddhism; and that the puppet plays were all performed by itinerant entertainers. However, the argument that puppet theater emerged naturally in Korea was also raised. According to this theory, Korean puppet theater originated in wooden figures (Kor. 목우인형, Chin. 木偶人形, lit. wooden human dolls) dating to the Three Kingdoms period or even earlier and developed step by step, from the manipulation of puppets to music, called *akgokgoere* (Kor. 악곡괴레, Chin. 樂曲傀儡, lit. musical puppets), of the Goguryeo Kingdom, to puppet plays and Manseokjung nori of the Goryeo Dynasty, and finally to Kkokdugaksinoreum of the Joseon Dynasty. Recently, the middle-ground theory has been posed. That is, the idea has been put forward that Korean puppet theater is basically native in origin but developed and changed under the influence of foreign elements over many centuries to reach its present form. According to this argument, the foundations of puppet theater naturally developed in Korea, as evidenced by the wooden dolls and puppets that existed in ancient times, the clay figurines and scarecrows found in Gaya and Silla tombs dating after the fourth century, and the existence of wooden dolls that decorated funeral biers. These native foundations developed under the influence of foreign elements over many centuries until Korean puppet theater reached its present form.

Puppet theater belonging to the category of Kkokdugaksinoreum includes Namsadang Kkokdugaksinoreum performed by itinerant entertainers, Park-cheomji nori performed in Seosan, and Kkokdugaksigeuk performed in Jangyeon.

Namsadangpae Kkokdugaksinoreum refers to the puppet play titled Kkokdugaksinoreum handed down by troupes of male itinerant entertainers called *namsadangpae*. As part of their performances called *namsadangnori*, designated Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 3, it is also called *deolmi*. Kkokdugaksinoreum is a puppet play that was performed in a dynamic way by enter-

tainers as they moved from place to place. Hence big differences are seen in the content according to time and place of performance and the composition of the actors. Comparison of existing audio recordings of the contents shows big differences in the overall composition of acts, the characters that appear, and the lines that are spoken. The version of Kkokdugaksinoreum that has been handed down by *namsangdangpae* to the present is based on an audio recording made by Shim Wooseong and preserved by the Namsadang Nori Preservation Association. Shim Wooseong's recording is based on the oral testimonies of performers collected on numerous occasions and is hence considered to be a relatively faithful audio record.

The Namsadang Nori Preservation Association's version of Kkokdugaksinoreum has two main acts: Park Cheomji and the Governor of Pyeongan-do Province. Each of these is divided into a number of episodes. The Park Cheomji act is divided into four episodes: Park Cheomji's travels, Pijori (young woman), Kkokdugaksi (Park Cheomji's wife), and Isimi (snake). In the first episode, Park Cheomji travels around the whole country and saying that he came out because he heard a puppet play was going to be performed, he jokes around and sings travel songs. In the second episode, Park Cheomji's daughter and daughter-in-law play and dance with the young monks at the temple behind the village but are chased away by Hong Dongji. Through the behavior of the monks, this act criticizes the false consciousness of the religious orders. Such criticism of false consciousness also appears in the Isimi act through the behavior of Mukdaesa, the high priest. In the third episode, Park Cheomji and his wife, Kkokdugaksi, are reunited after a long separation but they fight because of Park's concubine, Deolmeorijip, and they separate once again. This content shows censure of the tyranny of men and their unjust treatment of women. In the final episode, numerous characters who come out to chase a bird are caught and eaten in turn by Isimi, the snake, until Hong Dongji beats Isimi to death.

The Governor of Pyeongan-do Province (Pyeongangamsa) act is composed of three episodes: falcon hunting, bier bearing, and building a temple and tearing it down. In the first episode, the governor goes out falcon hunting and shows the events before and afterwards, such as clearing the road and selling pheasants. The second episode shows the funeral procedures after the governor suddenly dies. It features flippant behavior unsuitable for that of the chief mourner and the radical behavior of Hong Dongji, who carries the funeral bier naked. Through the governor's relations with other people, the episode of the



Pyeongang-do Province governor criticizes the special privileges accorded to government officials. It is in this context that the second act shows the governor's tyranny of the people through falcon hunting, Hong Dongji's radical response, and the lampooning of the governor's death and funeral. In the final episode, the novice monks build a temple and then destroy it. In feudal Joseon society, itinerant male entertainers belonging to the *namsadangpae* were regarded with contempt and many people tried to bar them from entering their villages. For their part, the *namsadangpae* emphasized the fact that they forged relations with temples in different localities as they roamed around the country and sold the talismans (*bujeok*) that the temples provided them and with the money contributed to Buddhist projects (Kor. 불사, Chin. 佛事, lit. Buddhist work). In the final episode, the puppets build a temple and in the process attempt to relieve conflict and bring reconciliation, at the same time wishing for the happiness and welfare of patrons who made donations to the temple building project.

Seosan Parkcheomji nori is a puppet play handed down in Tapgok 4-ri, Eummam-myeon, Seosan, Chungcheongnam-do Province. There are two recordings of the play, the Kim Dongik version and the Heo Yeongho version. The Kim Dongik version was made by the performer Kim Dongik based on the oral testimony of Joo Yeonsan, the main force behind the revival of Parkcheomji nori in Seosan. The Heo Yeongho version is the recording of a performance of the puppet play held in the village hall of Tapgok 4-ri on November 28, 1998. According to the Heo Yeongho recording, the details of Seosan Parkcheomji nori are as follows.

The puppet play can be divided into 20 scenes, taking the oral interjection "*tteru tterua tteruya*" as the signifier of change of scene. These scenes can be grouped into three acts: Park Cheomji's travels and family conflict, the Pyeongan-do Province governor's falcon hunting and funeral, and temple building and opening the eyes of the blind. Much of the contents of Seosan Parkcheomji nori, composed of 20 scenes in three acts, are the same as Kkokdugaksinoreum performed by itinerant male entertainers. The dynamics between the characters in each act, that is, between men and women, the upper class and lower class, religious people and secular people, is a point of similarity between the two puppet plays. However, in the actual performance Seosan Parkcheomji nori has several distinguishing features.



Myeongno
(Park Cheomji's brother-in-law)
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Much of the first act depicting Park Cheomji's travels and family conflict is devoted to criticism of Park Cheomji by the members of his family for his neglect of the family and for keeping a concubine. His first wife, his brother-in-law, and his younger brother all censure him for his irresponsibility and for taking a concubine and make him a figure of fun. In the *namsangdangpae* play, only the wife appears to censure the oppression of men, but in the Seosan play all the family join in the criticism. Strongly implied in this act is the village sense of community that judges Park Cheomji to be immoral for keeping a concubine and wreaking havoc in his own family. The second act, featuring the Governor of Pyeongan-do Province hunting falcons and his funeral, contains a critical



Seunim (Buddhist monk)
National Folk Museum of Korea

view of the privileges of rank as shown through the conflict between government officials and the ordinary people. Compared to Kkokdugaksinoreum, the role of Hong Dongji is downplayed in Seosan Parkcheomji nori, and while satire of the ruling class is also weak, censure of the governor who oppresses the people is just as strong. It is the last act, building the temple and opening the eyes of the blind, where the unique content of Seosan Parkcheomji nori is most clearly shown. The blind man, who lost his sight because of the tyranny of the governor, regains his sight after praying and making offerings to the Buddha. Such content signifies the belief that the suffering common people could achieve Buddhist resolution of grievances. This is entirely different to the criticism of false consciousness expressed through conflict between religious people and secular people that is seen in Kkokdugaksinoreum. Hence, Seosan Parkcheomji nori, rather than containing criticism of Buddhism, intentionally reveals a positive attitude to Buddhism and Buddhist miracles.

Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk is a puppet play handed down in the Jangyeon region of Hwanghae-do Province. It consists of ten acts, but none of them has a fixed title. The contents are as follows. The first act deals with Park Cheomji's travels. The second act features Park Cheomji's two daughters, novice monks, senior monk, the monk Hyeonmuk Daesa, Mongnangcheong (a person without firm opinions). The third act features Park Cheomji and Samcheongapja, who brags about his age (18,000 years). In the fourth act, Janganhwalja and Mongnangcheong fight with each other and then dance. In the fifth act the Governor

of Pyeongan-do Province goes pheasant hunting. In the sixth act Park Cheomji's daughter and Janganhwalja dance as they sing the folk song "Doraji Taryeong" ("Bellflower Song"). In the seventh act, Sanmonghye, that is, the snake Isimi, appears and starts to catch and eat everyone. Park Cheomji is about to be caught and eaten too when he is saved by his son, who catches Isimi and takes off its skin. The eighth act depicts the funeral of the Governor of Pyeongan-do Province, who dies after eating the neck of a pheasant. In the ninth act, Park Cheomji's whole family comes out and dances. Then in the tenth and final act, the novice monks build a temple and tear it down again.

Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk is similar in overall content to Kkokdugaksinoreum performed by the *namsadangpae* but has many different scenes. The first act is similar to the story of Park Cheomji's travels. The second act is similar to the story of Park Cheomji's daughter and daughter-in-law dancing with the monks but is expanded and more detailed in Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk. The third and fourth acts contain content not found in Kkokdugaksinoreum. The fifth act is similar to the falcon hunting story, while the sixth act is content not found in Kkokdugaksinoreum. The seventh act is similar to the story of Isimi, but here it is not Park Cheomji's nephew, Hong Dongji, who kills the snake but his son. The eighth act is similar to the bier carrying story. The ninth act is similar to the final act of Kkokdugaksinoreum and yet can be called new content. The tenth act is similar to the temple building story. Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk hence has many similar points to Kkokdugaksinoreum and yet is different. First, in Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk, Park Cheomji's wife, Kkokdugaksi, does not appear at all. The act in which she usually features simply does not exist. As the wife does not appear, the puppet play does not deal with the conflict between husband and wife or between men and women, usually expressed in conflict between Park Cheomji, his wife and his concubine. The second difference is that Hong Dongji's role is filled by Park Cheomji's son and has been significantly reduced. The possibilities suggested by the destructive and hostile acts and behavior of Hong Dongji are hard to find in Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk. The level of criticism of the *yangban* class is much weaker. The third difference is expansion of the scene where all the puppets appear on stage and play together. Rather than dramatic conflict which underscores the professionalism of the human actors manipulating the puppets, Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk places increased focus on the entertainment aspects of the puppet play as rural recreation.

Kkokdugaksinoreum puppet plays can be divided into two types, those per-

formed by rural troupes consisting of performers chosen from among the local villagers, and those performed by professional entertainers who roamed around the country holding shows. *Namsadangpae* Kkokdugaksinoreum belongs to the latter type while Seosan Parkcheomji nori and Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk belong to the former type. However, the type of puppet play performed by professional itinerant entertainers and the type performed by village locals are not independent of each other but naturally correlated. Seosan Parkcheomji nori developed under the influence of *Namsadangpae* Kkokdugaksinoreum yet retains its independence. Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk evolved naturally in the rural village context and thus has its own character, yet it too was influenced by the itinerant entertainers. According to their own characteristics, each of the three Kkokdugaksinoreum puppet plays places weight on different themes. However, they have a common thematic consciousness as seen in their criticism of religious fallacy, the tyranny of men, and the immunity of the upper class.

The puppets, which are the key element of puppet plays, cannot speak or move on their own. Their movements controlled by human actors are clumsy. Likewise, the utterances (Kor. 발화, Chin. 發話, lit. issue words) spoken by the actors is unnatural also. However, puppet theater has existed over the ages and will continue to survive. This is because it reveals in a concrete way the divergent, deviant greed and transcendent desires of human beings. In the drama, the puppets can do the things that humans cannot or dare not do. The great expressive possibilities of puppet theater are virtually unbounded, so things that were only possible in the human imagination are easily achieved. Moreover, in that great sea of possibilities various means of expression are mixed and fused meaning that puppet theater is a form of drama where diverse expression is possible. In the future also, the thing puppet theater can always rely on is this unbounded imagination and putting that imagination into action. This means the genre of puppet theater, or *inhyeonggeuk*, may become a new forum for training the imagination.

Baltal

발탈

Puppet play using the feet.

Traditional Korean performing art where human actors exchange jokes with puppets that are handled by puppeteers with their hands and feet.

Baltal, which literally means “foot mask,” is also known as *baljangnan*, *joktal*, *jokgamyeon*, *jokmuyong* and *baltalchum*. These names originated from the style of performance in which masks cover the feet for manipulation. *Baltal* can be referred to as masked dance-drama in that masks are used. The name *Baltal* also emphasizes *tal*, which means “mask,” providing the grounds thereof. However, *Baltal* is different to general masked dance-drama in many ways. Though masks are used they cover the feet rather than the face and only function as the head part of the puppets. Considering that puppets appear, it can be called a puppet play. Yet it is not a puppet play in the real sense. Unlike Kkokdugaksinoreum played by male itinerant entertainers, which features only puppets on stage, in *Baltal* human actors also appear. In addition, the development of the performance in which abnormal puppets with only the upper body and normal human actors dance together or quarrel, neither side budging an inch, resembles traditional witty repartee.

Baltal is different from usual masked dance-drama despite the use of masks, and has unique points that differentiate it from other puppet plays. Its performance style resembles the traditional witty repartee of masked dance-drama as two characters bicker with each other, and yet it is idiosyncratic in that it is a story of conflict between human actors and puppets. *Baltal* is hence a traditional performance unique in that the puppets are handled by puppeteers with their hands and feet and that human actors bicker with the puppets. This makes *Baltal* noteworthy in three aspects: its uniqueness and value in terms of the actors and their roles in the performance; its significance in the history of traditional performance; and its uniqueness in terms of the style of performance.

First, *Baltal* is significant in that the play focuses on the uniqueness of the

actors and their roles in the performance. This is evident when we consider the coexistence of human actors and puppets. In *Baltal*, human actors who move and speak of their own accord appear with abnormal puppets who have only the upper body. The puppets can only move and speak at the will of human puppeteers called *baltalkkun*. In contrast, human actors can move and speak by themselves. *Baltal* is a traditional performance unique for the way the puppets and humans coexist and bicker with each other. It is even more interesting when we examine the roles these actors play in the performance. The abnormal masked puppet that cannot speak or move by itself plays the role of a wanderer. He is depicted as a free man with a cheerful and jovial nature who wanders the eight provinces across the whole country. On the other hand, the human actor who can move and speak by himself is Eomuldoga Juin (fishmonger). He is depicted as a man who stays in one place and is constrained by the rules of everyday life. Thus, conflict is contradictory and overlapping in terms of the nature of the actors—normal/abnormal, alive/absence of life, human/puppet in terms



Baltal | National Folk Museum of Korea



Baltal | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

of the nature of actors, and in terms of their roles—settled/wandering, normalcy/abnormalcy, everyday life/festival, restriction/freedom, and regularity/deviation. Indeed, *Baltal* is a traditional performance with the subtle paradox of assigning roles in a way that is contradictory or against the nature of the actors. Although contradictory, unusual meaning and potential is implied. And it can be said that the implications of *Baltal* are greater than what meets the eye.

Second, *Baltal* is significant in terms of the history of traditional performance. It constitutes the tradition of witty repartee by focusing on the way the two actors bicker with each other, refusing to budge an inch. Korea's tradition of *jaedam*, or jokes and witty repartee, has been passed on from comic drama called *uhui* (Kor. 우희, Chin. 優戲, lit. superior drama) performed in the court in the 14th and 15th centuries, to jokes in the center of Seoul in the 18th and 19th centuries, to the performances of Park Chunjae, including *Baltal* of the early 20th century, and comic broadcasting starting with comedy double acts in the 1930s. It can be said that the comic performances by Park Chunjae, including *Baltal*, played an important role in pointing the way forward for Korea's comedy tradition in a period of radical change in the shift to the modern era. Under such changes in the comedy tradition, the traditional style of bickering can be recreated by focusing on *Baltal*. *Baltal* can be said to have played a role in succeeding the comedy tradition of *jaedam* in the form of a bickering duo, which had been passed on from the court comic drama of the 14th-15th century represented by the social satire of the play *Domokjeongsa nori* to performances held in the middle of Seoul in the 18th-19th century and at the same time, in connecting

such tradition of witty repartee to the comedy acts of the 1930s.

Third, the significance of *Baltal* can also be discovered in the style of performances. The method of manipulating the puppets with the feet is worthy of note. The way *baltalkkun* manipulate puppets consisting of only the upper body (Kor. 반등신, Chin. 半等身, lit. half body) is certainly unique. Sitting behind the stage covered with a curtain, the puppeteer sticks out the feet covered with masks beyond the curtain while his hands hold the bamboo rods that function as the arms of the puppets. The puppeteer moves the feet and hands to move the face and both arms of the puppets. As such, it is a method that uses the entire body. This manipulation method used by the puppeteer, especially using the feet, is a unique feature that cannot be found in any other traditional performances.

Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk

장연꼭두각시극

Puppet play from the Jangyeon area of Hwanghae-do Province.

A puppet play handed down in the Jangyeon region of Hwanghae-do Province.

This puppet play developed centered on Seoul until the 18th century, then thanks to lively activities of troupes of itinerant male entertainers (*namsadangpae*), it began to be spread throughout the country. Eventually, the play was localized in the Jangyeon region of Hwanghae-do Province and the Seosan region in Chungcheongnam-do Province. As performance of the play passed from entertainers (*gwangdae*) belonging to Sandae Dogam (山臺都監), the government office in charge of organizing masked dance-drama performances, to the lowest class of people called *banin* (Kor. 반인층, Chin. 泮人層, lit. class of people belonging to Seonggyungwan) living in Aeogae, Seoul, and finally to the *namsadangpae*, Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk went through changes in contents and character from a secular court performance to the entertainment of urban set-

tlers to the show of a professional group of itinerant entertainers. However, that the temple-building act, which was not found in the puppet plays performed in Seoul during the 18th century, was included in Kkokdugaksinoreum performed by itinerant entertainers indicates that the *namsadangpae* had formed certain relationships with temples. Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk and Seosan Parkcheomji nori have reinvented themselves as folk drama based on the local village, stimulated by touring performances of the *namsadangpae* or the settlement of their members in a certain region.

A recording of the puppet play in Jangyeon, Hwanghae-do Province contains the lines, “Jangyeon Kkodu from Seoul exchanges witty conversation and dance with Park Cheomji.” From this it can be assumed while the basis for transmission of the puppet play had been established in the Jangyeon area, it was originally derived from Kkokdugaksigeuk performed in Seoul. The common acts shared by the Seoul and Jangyeon performances are the opening called *apnori*, Park Cheomji act, novice monk act, Isimi act, Dongbangsak act, falcon hunting act, bier bearing act, and temple-building act. The acts remaining only in the Seoul play are the Kkokdugaksi act, Little Park Cheomji act, Pyo Saengwon (classics licentiate Pyo) act, Kkambaegi act and Chido act, whereas those exclusive to the Jangyeon performance are the Hyeonmukdaesa act, Mongnakcheong (a person without firm opinions) act, Janganhwalja act, and *daedongchum*, a group dance at the close. Although Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk has some of its own acts such as Hyeonmukdaesa, Mongnakcheong, and Janganhwalja, most of its contents are identical to the Seoul play. So it is assumed the Jangyeon puppet play was derived from Seoul and localized in the Jangyeon region.

That is, Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk adopted the contents of Kkokdugaksigeuk of Seoul and added a few acts of its own. The greatest difference between the two is the existence of Hong Dongji and Kkokdugaksi. Since Hong Dongji and Kkokdugaksi do not exist in Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk, the Kkodugaski act criticizing patriarchy inevitably disappeared. Further, as Hong Dongji does not exist, he does not appear in the acts featuring the novice monks, Isimi, falcon hunting, and bier bearing. Changes were made so that Park Cheomji’s son expels Isimi instead of Hong Dongji while Park Cheomji himself chases pheasants and carries the funeral bier. Because the young Hong Dongji’s conflict with the old Park Cheomji represents the power of the people, Hong Dongji was removed from the puppet play not so much for violating sexual taboos (Kor. 금기, Chin. 禁忌) and showing his naked body but to weaken the people’s spirit of spirit of

resistance. Also, since Kkokdugaksi is a character who criticizes patriarchy, her disappearance implies the weakening of critical views of male-centered society.

That is, the spirit of protest and critical consciousness is less intense in Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk compared to Kkokdugaksigeuk from Seoul, which was progressive in terms of social history and consciousness. However, it is difficult to guess whether this is because of the limitations of a puppet play in the provinces or the characteristics of a local community seeking respect and reconciliation rather than conflict. That being said, the fact that the two novice monks fight and then come to a settlement, as do Janganhwalja and Mongnakcheong, and Park Cheomji takes part in the Pyeongan-do Province governor's falcon hunting, it is evident that Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk is oriented toward reconciliation and compliance to the system. Further, another distinguishing feature of the play is that Janganhwalja dances with the daughters of Park Cheomji, while all members of Park Cheomji's family start dancing together, heightening the entertaining atmosphere. Also, emphasizing the suffering of women through the daughters of Park Cheomji, who become objects of sexual desire and exploitation by the novice monks, master monks, Mongnakcheong and Janganhwalja, and are finally eaten by the snake is in contrast to Kkokdugaksigeuk from Seoul, in which Kkokdugaksi is a scapegoat showing the contradictory destiny of women sacrificed by patriarchal society. These differences and changes in the performance took place in the process of a puppet play from Seoul being localized in the Jangyeon region as an entertaining play and demonstrating the regional identity of Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk as distinct from Kkokdugaksigeuk from Seoul.

Kkokdugaksi

꼭두각시

First wife; main character in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.

The main character in Kkokdugaksinoreum, a puppet play.

Kkokdugaksi appears as the symbolic wife of the Joseon Dynasty, that is, a devoted first wife (Kor. 조강지처, Chin. 糟糠之妻, lit. wife of the rice husks) or daughter-in-law who is the pillar of the family. Especially in the late Joseon Dynasty, the custom of holding ancestral rites (Kor. 봉제사, Chin. 奉祭祀, lit. offering a sacrifice) mainly led by the eldest son was prevalent, resulting in a preference for sons rather than daughters (Kor. 남아선호, Chin. 奉祭祀). Therefore, when the wife was unable to bear children, it was customary for the husband to take a concubine to get a son or adopt a son from one of his brothers. Meanwhile, Kkokdugaksi only grows older without giving birth to a son. It is notable that she appears as an old woman who ends up in conflict with concubines who are highly fertile (Dolmeorijip or Deolmeorijip).

The body of the Kkokdugaksi puppet (75 cm from the top of the head to the end of the hands; face width 19 cm) is smaller than that of Park Cheomji, her husband, and her shoulders are only a bit wider than the face. Her eyes, nose, and lips are crooked and her lips move. Her face is covered with wrinkles and freckles. She wears a red cloth over her black hair, a white jacket (*jeogori*), and a black skirt with red breast ties, giving us the impression that she has a strong character. The lower jaw of her mask moves as do both arms.

Kkokdugaksi holds great significance, being representative of traditional puppets or puppet theater. However, in the drama she is just an ugly old woman with a rough demeanor. She is not a young Gaksi, or young bride. In Korea's traditional folk games, Gaksi is a new bride, or in performances based on the myth of Gaksi she is often a young woman who has sexual intercourse with a man. Gdš in the Ras Sharmar-Ougarit myth, handed down in the ancient Semitic language, is frequently referred to as the etymology of the name Kkodu. Gdš means the male reproductive organ and the name originated in a rite to pray for

prosperity and fecundity. From this, we can guess that Kkokdugaksi embodied both the essence of life and several types of people in the course of its performance and transmission.

In the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum, the Kkokdugaksi act is significant for dealing with the issue of the concubine system, a social custom of the late Joseon Dynasty, in a very realistic manner. Moreover, in this act, Kkokdugaksi, as the first wife, vividly shows the tough personal lives and domestic lives of women and is highly evaluated in the history of Korean theater for creating a wife character who is stronger than the husband.

Kkokdugaksinoreum

꼭두각시놀음

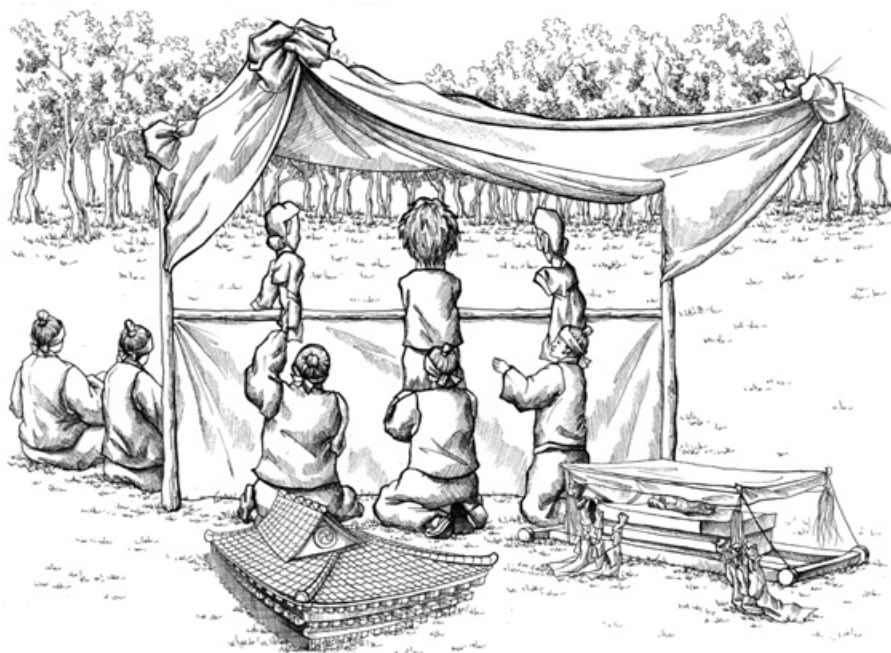
Only surviving traditional Korean puppet play.

The only Korean puppet play that has been handed down, featuring the character named Kkokdugaksi.

Namsadangpae (group of male itinerant entertainers), who passed on Kkokdugaksinoreum, call this play Deolmi, meaning the nape of the neck. This nickname comes from the way the puppets are handled by holding the nape of the neck. Since not only Kkokdugaksi but also characters such as Park Cheomji or Hong Dongji play important roles, it is also known as Parkcheomji noreum or Hong Dongji noreum. *Noreum* (play or playing) is sometimes replaced with *geuk* (Kor. 극, Chin. 劇, lit. drama), as in Kkokdugaksigeuk, Parkcheomjigeuk, or Hong Dongjigeuk.

From old times, *kkokdu* (*kkokdeuk*) or *kkokdugaksi* has been widely used to refer to a puppet.

It is deemed that Kkokdugaksinoreum developed based on the folk customs of the northern peoples who were ancestors of Koreans, especially puppet



Kkokdugaksinoreum | National Folk Museum of Korea

sculptures created for funerals and *gaksiinhyeong noreum* (new bride puppet play), along with the influences from China or via the Silk Road, the ancient route between the East and the West. There are cases in which the tribal nations Donggokjeo and Goguryeo created a wooden sculpture that resembled the deceased. There is also a record of Gaksiinhyeong noreum, stating that from old times Korean children created puppets with materials such as grass, trees, paper and cloth to play with.

Of the group of male itinerant entertainers, the puppeteer is called *deolmi-soe* or *daejabi*, meaning one who manipulates the puppets with their wooden handles. An experienced and skillful puppeteer takes the role of *daejabi*, and he usually serves as *kkokduso*, leader of a *namsadangpae* troupe. A puppeteer who assists *daejabi* is called *daejabison*, and a performer who has witty exchanges (scripted lines) with the puppets (or in reality the *daejabi*) while sitting offstage is called *sanbaji*. *Sanbaji* also serves as a musician (*jaebi*) playing the *janggu* (hourglass-shaped drum), and sometimes musicians independently provide musical accompaniment. Studies suggest that *saniyy*, a performer in Ugaritic mythology, is the etymology of *sanbaji*, meaning *sani* (performer, *sanbaji*). Before

electric light existed, there was a person responsible for lighting by holding a torch made with oil-covered cotton cloth, who stood beside the stage to light up the puppets.

Today the puppet show is mainly performed during the day, but in the past it used to be performed on an outdoor (makeshift) stage at night, and many people enjoyed the show in front of the stage or from nearby. At that time, lighting was only provided where the puppets appeared so that the audience could focus on them; furthermore, the blazing torchlight harmonized with the witty gestures of the puppets, creating a variety of figures and a mysterious atmosphere.

In a puppet show, *geori* refers to one act or scene of the play. The seven acts that have been recorded to date are as follows: Park Cheomji's travels, the Pijori act, the Kkokdugaksi act, the Isimi (monster serpent) act, the falcon hunting act, the bier-bearing act, and the temple construction and demolition act. These acts are generally named after the puppets that play the main roles. However, their names and numbers vary depending on recording versions.

In each act, various characters appear as follows. First, Park Cheomji, the lead character of Park Cheomji's travels, is an old man and he frequently appears in other acts as a commentator. His importance may be why his face is the roundest and largest of all the puppets, and marked with many wrinkles. Also, his lower jaw is movable.

In the Pijori act, two performers who are considered to be nieces of Park Cheomji appear. (Some interpret this in a different way). These nieces are young female puppets with small bodies and rouge spots on their faces. Each of them plays the coquette with the novice monks. Kkokdugaksi, the main character of the Kkokdugaksi act, is the wife of Park Cheomji. She has the second-largest face and her lower jaw is also movable. The large, dark freckles over her face and the big features and tough expression make her look like an old woman. Kkokdugaksi's counter role is Dolmorijip. She is Park Cheomji's concubine and is also known as Deolmeorijip. She has a big fight with Kkokdugaksi and wins, but in spite of her strong personality, she ends up being driven out with empty hands. In the Joseon Dynasty, there used to be many taverns at the entrance of Gangbyeon (Yonggang) on Wonhyo-ro, Yongsan-gu, and the area was also known as Dolmori (Deolmeori). The name Dolmori refers to a woman who sells liquor in this area. She has rouge spots on her face and wears a blue skirt like a young barmaid, or *jakbu* (Kor. 작부, Chin. 酌婦, lit. wine pouring woman) attracting customers.

In the Isimi act, Isimi is a monster serpent that eats humans. Such a creature is known as *imugi*, an animal living in the pond or river since it has failed to turn into a dragon and ascend to heaven. Since the puppet is made of cloth and takes the shape of a long sack, it can freely move its body, which is entirely covered with big scales. When it opens its wide mouth, the red inside is revealed, which is meant to be terrifying. It also has a long beard around the mouth. Hong Dongji mainly appears in the Isimi act and yet plays impressive roles in other acts. He is a strong young man (Kor. 역사, Chin. 力士) who fights against, wins and repels evil characters. Hong Dongji is naked and has red skin and an exaggeratedly large reproductive organ. His long arms freely move and he occasionally pees in the direction of the audience through a rubber hose (plant tube in the Joseon Dynasty) installed in the reproductive organ. This is done by the *dae-jabi*, who holds water in his mouth and swooshes it through the hose.

The falcon hunting act features the falcon and the pheasant. These puppets are carved out of wood. The pheasant moves while it is fixed on the stick and the falcon moves while walking a tightrope. It is the Pyeongan-do Province governor character that leads the falcon hunting. Though he is the leader in the highest position in Pyeongan-do Province who should be concentrating on politics, the governor leisurely goes hunting for pheasants (or falcons), loses the bier at his mother's funeral while eating dog meat, and commits the blasphemy of presenting the meat as the sacrificial offering. He wears a cloth hood, or *geon* (Kor. 건, Chin. 巾) and black clothes, and has a thick beard.

The bier bearers in the bier-bearing act are fixed to the large, splendidly decorated bier with strings. There are 12 of them, small puppets that move with the bier as they hang down on either side of it. Other than aforementioned characters, in each act of Kkokdugaksinoreum appear small puppets of various appearance and personalities: Dongbangnoin (old man), Pyo Saengwon (classics licentiate Pyo), Yeongno (monster), Kkambbagi, Mukdaesa (high monk), little Park Cheomji, Hongbaekga, Chief Mourner, Park Cheomji's grandson, Gwipari, Saryeong (government duty officer), Japtaljung, Mongnangcheong, and Cheongnosae.

The different types of Kkokdugaksi puppets are classified according to the way they are manipulated. Stick puppets account for most of them and some of them are sack puppets created like a cloth sack or a glove. String puppets (marionette) (Kor. 줄인형, Chin. 懸絲形) are independent puppets which are manipulated by tying stings to the body parts, but none can be found among the Kkokdugaksi puppets. However, there are several puppets whose lips move



Temple construction and demolition act | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

as if to speak by pulling the string installed in the lips. In other words, string is utilized to manipulate the inside of the puppets. Tightrope walking puppets that are manipulated by skewering the body of the puppet with the string and pulling it from both sides are handed down only in the falcon hunting act.

As a dramatic element in the puppet play, witty repartee is crucial as a tool for the audience to read scenes as they develop. The witty conversations exchanged by the *daejabi*, who is the head puppeteer, and *sanbaji* are scripted lines of the play and are delivered to the audience through real talk or songs. These comic exchanges usually involve a number of dialects according to where the *daejabi* is from, and the songs sung by the characters are mainly folk songs that the audience can sing along to. The characters sometimes recite Chinese poems to show off their knowledge, but this often proves to be unnatural (Kor. 무리, Chin. 無理, lit. no reason) since they are not consistent with the witty talk.

Puppeteers used to call the Kkokdugaksinoreum theater *pojang*, which is a covering or tent. The theater for the puppet play is built by erecting four columns in a space around 3 m squared and making a stage 1.2 m above the ground, with a width of 2.5m and height of 70 cm, where puppets are animated. It is a stage in the air with the four directions covered with cloth. In the space inside the stage, the *daejabi* sits in the center, and *daejabison* sit on either side of him

to assist manipulation of the puppets and their entrance and exist. At this time, the head puppeteer cannot be seen working the puppets from outside the stage. In the slightly slanted space outside the stage (whether right or left is not fixed) *sanbaji*, the receiving party of jokes and singer, and several musicians proceed with the play by sitting in front of the stage, hardly separate from the audience.

On the other hand, research materials show that Kim Jaecheol said white cloth was used whereas Nam Unyong and Yang Doil said that black cloth was used. The elevated stage consisted of two floors in the past with stairs between the upper level and the lower level. The upper level was where the puppet show was played whereas the lower level was a space for the puppeteers, covered with cloth so that they could be invisible from the audience.

Today Kkokdugaksinoreum, which was designated as as Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 3 in July 1964, is performed by the Namsadang nori Preservation Association. In August 1988, the name was changed to Namsadang nori, and along with Kkokdugaksinoreum, *pungmulnori*, *salpan* (acrobatic feats), *eoreum* (tightrope walking), *deotboegi* (masked dance-drama), and *beona* (saucer spinning) were all designated together as Important Intangible Cultural Heritage. In 2009, Namsadang nori was designated as UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

Kkokdugaksinoreum played by *namsadang* has passed on the tradition of the male itinerant entertainers; Seosan Parkcheomji nori has preserved the tradition of *gwangdaepae* (group of entertainers, clowns) consisting of native villagers. Kkokdugaksinoreum is a very rare entertainment as the only puppet play that has almost succeeded intact the features of ancient wooden figures of the East. It is deemed that by the end of the Joseon Dynasty, the number and types of puppets was higher than today and many techniques were used to work them. A record shows that in the past, not only Kkokdugaksinoreum that has been handed down but also the animal shadow puppet play Manseokjung nori and Kkokdugaksinoreum manipulated by one person were performed in various areas including Gupabal. Considering that Kkokdugaksinoreum was recorded as “mask play” (Kor. 가면회, Chin. 假面戲) in Chinese characters, it is assumed that it was thought of a masked dance-drama such as *talchum*. According to “The Record on Performers of the Puppet Play” (傀儡子記), written by Ōe no Masafusa (大江匡房), a Japanese scholar, Japanese performers of puppet theater originated from Korea, and they presented not only puppet shows but also a variety of masked plays in which they imitated others.

Kkokdugaksinoreum usually consists of around ten acts, which do not form a coherent overall composition but focus on a few stories, or motifs (Kor. 화소, Chin. 話素). Motifs consist of the deviation of Park Cheomji, apostasy by Pijori, conflict between the wife and the concubine, eradication of Isimi which is harmful to humans, tyranny and immorality of the Pyeongan-do Province Governor, and wishes for peace and fortune by building a temple. Since Kkokdugaksinoreum is a puppet play, it focuses on movements and dance by the puppets, the accompanying music and the songs. It is also true that the quality of performances greatly differs depending on the skills or creative direction by the *daejabi*. How consistently and skillfully the conflicts and causal relationships among the characters are presented can bring about theatrical tension and interest. As the number of competent *daejabi* has decreased, Kkokdugaksinoreum nowadays only remains in existence through transmission of the required skills. It is highly regrettable that it has failed to be reinvented as a performing art that can be passed on in terms of function and art like Chinese glove puppetry *budaixi* (Kor. 부다이시, Chin. 布袋戲) or Japanese *bunraku* (a form of traditional puppet theater).

Manseokjung nori

만석중놀이

Mimed Buddhist puppet play.

Buddhist puppet play performed in mime (Kor. 무언, Chin. 無言, lit. no words) form that features Monk Manseok (Manseokjung) and various animal characters.

As a puppet play performed to celebrate Buddha's birthday at temples and private homes Manseokjung nori has an important status in the history of Buddhist puppet theater in Korea.

Until the early 1930s, Manseokjung nori used to be performed at temples or villages around Gaeseong in Gyeonggi-do Province. Thereafter its transmission



Manseokjung nori | National Folk Museum of Korea

was cut off but the Korean Folk drama Research Institution restored the performance.

Manseokjung nori has been staged in a variety of ways. That is, the entire work may be presented as a puppet show, or the animal part only may be expressed in a two-dimensional way through shadows, and sometimes the shadow play and dance of monks are integrated.

Although Manseokjung nori was established as a unique performing art by integrating Buddhist dance and the puppet play presented for the purpose of spiritual practice and propagation, it is assumed that the puppet play segment was separated when it came to be performed by ordinary people who could not sing Buddhist songs or perform Buddhist dances. It is guessed that Manseokjung nori began as a puppet play performed by monks at temples, changed to a Buddhist puppet play performed by civilians, and eventually come to be recognized as a play satirizing Buddhism, reflecting ordinary people's negative view of the religion.

Therefore, a myth about the origin of Manseokjung nori was created. The story goes that Hwangjini, an outstanding *gisaeng* (Kor. 명기, Chin. 名妓) from



Behind the scenes | Outdoor yard of the Geochang Culture Center | 2012 | National Folk Museum of Korea

the Songdo (松都) region, had unsurpassed beauty. She decided to test the mind of Seon Master Jijok, a famous monk of that time. The monk Jijok, after 30 years of *seon* (zen) practice facing the wall (Kor. 면벽, Chin. 面壁) was almost a living Buddha (Kor. 생불, Chin. 生佛). During this period, he received too much rice in the form of *jae* (齋), offerings made by believers as they made their prayers, which is why he earned the nickname Manseokjung, or Monk Manseok, with *manseok* meaning ten thousand sacks of rice. Manseokjung broke the Buddhist commandments overnight because of Hwangjini. Thus, Manseokjung nori originated in satire of Seon Master Jijok, who was vulnerable to a beauty and took a lot of rice from believers. This tale was developed during the phase when Manseokjung nori, which used to be performed at temples, became a secular entertainment.

In his dance, the motions of Manseokjung beating his chest with his arms and kicking his head with his two feet can be interpreted as penance (Kor. 고행, Chin. 苦行, lit. painful conduct) and a sign of devoting himself to spiritual practice (Kor. 용맹정진, Chin. 勇猛精進, lit. great and daring devotion). Such behavior can also be seen as a kind of shamanic act to free himself from agony and get rid

of desire. On the other hand, it can also be seen as a way to make a boisterous noise to drive away evil, as done by the *ttakttagipae* (a group of performers) from Sajikgol in Seoul. When these Buddhist and folklore implications are forgotten, the Buddhist theme of “All conditioned things are impermanent” (Kor. 제행무상, Chin. 諸行無常) disappears, and the puppet play comes to be realized as satire of the apostate monk who seeks pleasure associating with animals.

The myth of the origin of Manseokjung nori has some points in common with the origination tale of the Nojang (old monk) act in *sandaenori* masked dance-dramas. It is said that those who distrusted Monk Sindon (辛屯) at the end of the Goryeo Dynasty during the reign of King Gongmin made the monk break the Buddhist commandments (Kor. 파계, Chin. 破戒, lit. broken vows) and this is how *sandaenori* began. Such tales of origination reflect a critical view of Buddhism, resulting from the decline of Buddhism and corruption of monks.

Manseokjung nori is a puppet play or shadow play performed in mime form without any jokes or songs, featuring Monk Manseok and various animal characters. Its performance style is unique: a puppet play or a shadow play is combined with Buddhist ritual dance accompanied by Buddhist songs. Moreover, expression utilizing props and physical expression are also integrated. While Kokdugaksinoreum by groups of male itinerant entertainers, Jangyeon Kkokdugaksigeuk, and Seosan Parkcheomji nori are secular and entertaining puppet plays mainly performed by stick puppets, Manseokjung nori is a Buddhist edification play performed by monks using string puppets. In this sense the two types of performances are the most important puppet plays in Korea. When *byeolsingut*, a large-scale village shaman rite, was carried out in Mokgye village in Chungju, Chungcheongbuk-do Province, it is said that a puppet named Mappagi performed *gwangdaenori*, dancing at the head of the parade. Hence, it is assumed that this is a puppet play derived from Manseokjung nori performed in country villages, considering the similarity in the way the Mappagi and Manseok puppets are made and manipulated.

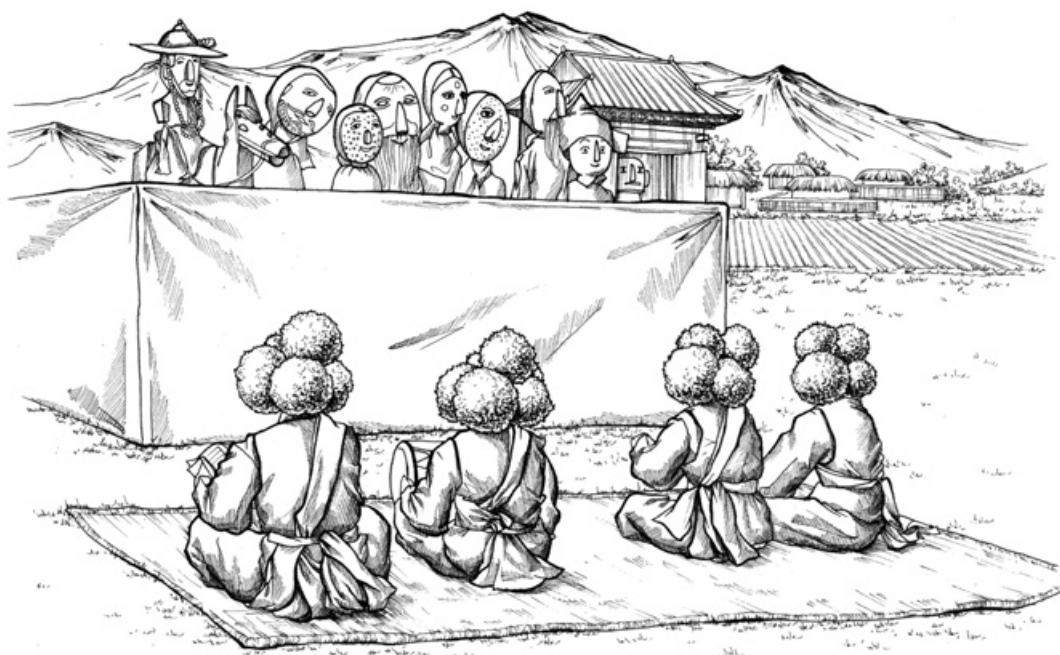
Seosan Parkcheomji nori

서산박침지놀이

Puppet play from Seosan, Chungcheongnam-do Province.

A puppet play handed down by the villagers of Tapgok-ri Eumam-myeon, Seosan in Chungcheongnam-do Province.

Seosan Parkcheomji nori is a puppet play handed down in Tapgok 4-ri, Eumam-myeon, Seosan, Chungcheongnam-do Province. According to the recording by Heo Yeongho, the details of Seosan Parkcheomji nori are as follows. The puppet play can be divided into 20 scenes, taking the oral interjection “*tteru tterua tteruya*” as the signifier of change of scene: ① Park Cheomji’s travels over eight provinces across the country, ② Greeting of Park Cheomji’s concubine, ③ Encounter and conflict between Park Cheomji and his younger sibling, ④ Encounter and conflict between Park Cheomji and his wife, ⑤ Encounter and conflict between Park Cheomji and Myeongno, his brother-in-law, ⑥ Park Cheomji’s decision to divide his property and the advice of a musician, ⑦ Unfair distribution of property by Park Cheomji and conflict between the wife and the concubine, ⑧ *Gildakgi*, a shaman rite for cleansing a dead person’s soul, performed by Hong Dongji for the Pyeongan-do Province governor, ⑨ Park Cheomji’s evaluation of the rite by Hong Dongji, ⑩ Pyeongan-do Province governor’s falcon hunting, ⑪ News of the Pyeongan-do Province governor’s illness and advice for treatment from the musician, ⑫ The big snake preying on *hongsae* (red bird), which could have been used to treat the Pyeongan-do Province governor, ⑬ News of the funeral for the Pyeongan-do Province governor, ⑭ The funeral for the Pyeongan-do Province governor, ⑮ News of donation collection for building a temple, ⑯ Requests for donations by the monk to build a new temple, ⑰ Building of Gongjungsa Temple, ⑱ News of opening the eyes of the blind, ⑲ Opening the eyes of the blind, and ⑳ Dance by the all characters. These 20 scenes can be grouped into three acts of Seosan Parkcheomji nori: Park Cheomji’s travels and family conflict (scenes 1-7), the Pyeongan-do Province governor’s falcon hunting and funeral (scenes 8-14), and temple construction



Seosan Parkcheomji nori | National Folk Museum of Korea

and opening the eyes of the blind (scenes 15-20). Much of the contents of Seosan Parkcheomji nori, composed of twenty scenes in three acts, are the same as the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum performed by groups of male itinerant entertainers called *namsadangpae*. The overall story is so similar that the two performances can be categorized as puppet plays of the same lineage. The dynamics between the characters in each act, that is, between men and women, the upper class and lower class, religious people and secular people, is a major point of similarity between the two puppet plays. However, in the actual performance Seosan Parkcheomji nori has several distinguishing features.

Much of the act depicting Park Cheomji's travels and family conflict is devoted to criticism of Park Cheomji by the members of his family for his neglect of the family and for keeping a concubine (Kor. 축첩, Chin. 畜妾). His first wife, his brother-in-law, and his younger brother all censure him for his irresponsibility in taking a concubine and make him a figure of fun. In the *namsangdangpae* play, only the wife appears to censure the oppression of men but in the Seosan play all the family join in the criticism. Strongly implied in this act is the village sense of community that judges Park Cheomji to be immoral for keeping a con-

cubine and wreaking havoc in the family. The second act featuring the governor of Pyeongan-do Province hunting falcons and his funeral contains a critical view of the privileges of rank as shown through the conflict between the government officials and the ordinary people. Compared to Kkokdugaksinoreum, the role of Hong Dongji is downplayed in Seosan Parkcheomji nori, and while satire of the ruling class is also weak censure of the governor, who oppresses the people, is just as strong. It is the last act, building the temple and opening the eyes of the blind, where the unique content of Seosan Parkcheomji nori is most clearly shown. The blind man who lost his sight because of the tyranny of the governor regains his sight after praying and making offerings to the Buddha. Such content signifies the belief that the suffering common people can achieve Buddhist resolution of grievances. This is entirely different to the criticism of false consciousness expressed through conflict between religious people and secular people that is seen in Kkokdugaksinoreum. Hence, Seosan Parkcheomji nori, rather than containing criticism of Buddhism, intentionally reveals a positive view of Buddhism and Buddhist miracles. This reflects the positive view of Buddhism in the community that has passed on Seosan Parkcheomji nori.

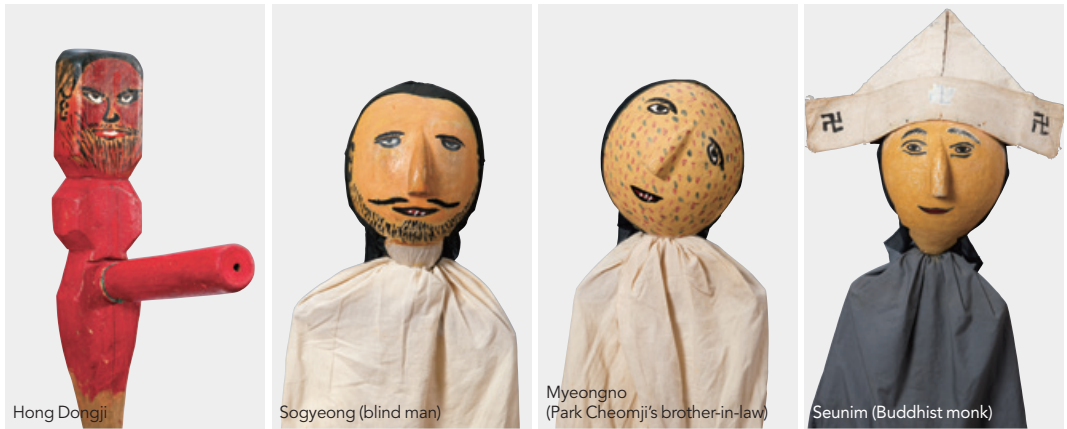
The total number of puppets appearing in the play is 45. They include Park Cheomji, Park Cheomji's younger sibling, Park Cheomji's wife, Park Cheomji's concubine, Park Cheomji's brother-in-law Myeongno, Hong Dongji, the Monk, two mourners, four carpenters, Pyeongangamsa (Pyeongan-do Province governor), a horse, the blind man, the falcon, the pheasant, the big snake, two red birds (*hongsae*), 12 elegy singers, and 12 bier bearers. These puppets are slightly different to those used in Kkokdugaksinoreum performed by *namsadangpae*. Park Cheomji, Hong Dongji, the Pyeongan-do Province governor, the mourners, bier bearers, falcon, and pheasant appear in both of the puppet plays. The younger sibling of Park Cheomji corresponds to Little Park Cheomji, the wife of Park Cheomji to Kkokdugaksi, the concubine of Park Cheomji to Deolmorijip, the big snake to Isimi, Hongsae to Cheongnosae. These characters appear with different names, but some of their roles have no significant differences. However, Myeongno the brother-in-law of Park Cheomji, the monk, the carpenter's horse, the blind man, and the elegy singers only appear in Seosan Parkcheomji nori. Whereas characters such as the novice monks 1 and 2, Pijori 1 and 2, Hongbaekga, Pyo Saengwon (classics licentiate Pyo), Yeongno, the grandson of Park Cheomji, Dongbangseogi, and the duty officer do not appear in the play, there are some puppets that appear only in Seosan Parkcheomji nori.



Seosan Parkcheomji nori puppets | National Folk Museum of Korea

The puppets in Seosan Parkcheomji nori all have distinctly different appearances. By their looks, we can distinguish between men and women, humans and animals, brothers and sisters, the upper class and lower class, old and young, religious people and secular people. Moreover, the puppets in Seosan Parkcheomji nori feature unrealistic proportions, ignoring the body parts of individual puppets and mutually proportional relationships among the puppets. Park Cheomji, his younger sibling, his wife, his concubine, his brother-in-law and the blind man, the most important characters, range from 76 cm to 88 cm in height. In contrast, the elegy singers or bier bearers are no higher than 30 cm. This shows unrealistic ratios that ignore mutually proportional relationships among the characters. Such unrealistic proportional relationships are found in individual puppets also. For example, most of the puppets consist of the upper body without arms and legs. Some of them have unusually large faces that do not fit the overall proportions, and Hong Dongji's sexual organ is also unusually large. When we measure different body parts of Hong Dongji, his upper body is 33 cm, his face 16 cm, the upper body 10 cm, the lower body 27 cm and the penis 29 cm. Overall, the bodily proportions are not normal. Especially, the length of the penis abnormally accounts for half of his height. Park Cheomji also has abnormal body proportions. His face is 28 cm long, accounting for one third of the entire height of 88 cm.

Such distinct individual appearances or unrealistic proportional relationships in the puppets of Seosan Parkcheomji nori can be found in Kkokdugaksinoreum.



Despite these similarities, the puppets of Seosan Parkcheomji nori cannot match those of Kkokdugaksinoreum in terms of detail and fineness. The puppets of Seosan Parkcheomji nori are made of easily obtainable materials such as large gourds, pine tree bark, kudzu vines, and wood and are roughly wrapped with cloth as costumes. In comparison, the puppets of Kkokdugaksinoreum are mainly made of logs that are put through complicated and professional production processes such as carving, cutting and attaching. Further, their eyes, ears, and lips are expressed through detailed carving that gives the features proper depth while the hairs of the head and beard are individually attached. Each character is dressed in its own costume, showing attention to detail. The materials used to make the puppets for Seosan Parkcheomji nori can be easily found around the village. Considering the nature of the local group of *gwangdae* (clowns or entertainers) who present the performances while engaging in their respective occupations in the village, the puppets are produced in a rather unsophisticated and simple way. Thus the masks are made with indigenous materials and the external appearance is simple.

Both the performers for Seosan Parkcheomji nori and for Kkokdugaksinoreum are the same in that they act with their voices while working the puppets. However, whereas one person performs multiple roles and operates multiple puppets in Kkokdugaksinoreum, the general rule is one person per role in Seosan Parkcheomji nori. The puppets for Park Cheomji, his younger sibling, his wife, his concubine and his brother-in-law are each played and operated by a

different performer. This system of one person per role is rooted in the fact that the puppet play is performed by local villagers. Any villager who was interested was able to freely participate in the performance of Seosan Parkcheomji nori. This was possible as there was no restriction on the number of available members, as was the case of *namsadangpae*. However, the system of one person per role is the result of changes occurring in the process of transmission. In Seosan Parkcheomji nori also, one person used to play multiple roles in the beginning. In order to distinguish between characters, performers used to change voices by using a fine-toothed comb with a piece of paper attached. This tool for adjusting the voice became unnecessary as the style of performance changed to that of one person per role.

The methods of working the puppets in Seosan Parkcheomji nori include stick handling, hand handling, tool handling, threading and flying handling, and string handling. In the stick method the puppeteer animates the puppet by moving the body or swinging it left and right holding the controlling rod connected to the upper body. This method can be called *jandugye* (Kor. 장두계, Chin. 杖頭係, lit. stick head connection). Most of the puppets such as Park Cheomji, his younger sibling, his wife, his concubine, his brother-in-law, the monk, the mourners, and the Pyeongan-do Province governor are played using the stick handling method. The hand method is a way of animating puppets by pushing the hands inside the costume in the shape of a pocket or sack or inside the body of the puppet. This method can be called *podaegye* (Kor. 포대계, Chin. 布袋係, lit. cloth sack connection). Since the puppet's movements are controlled directly by the hands or arms, this method results in rather sophisticated movements compared to other handling methods. Currently, the characters manipulated using the hand method are the carpenters and the big snake. The carpenter puppets make the delicate motions of moving logs and putting a roof on a building through control by the hand method. The snake also widens its mouth to eat the red bird in the same way. The tool handling method allows the motions of puppets to be manipulated via a device attached to the puppet when it was first made. This applies to the scene where the blind man opens his eyes in Seosan Parkcheomji nori. External change in the puppet is visible when the blind man is able to see again. The blind man is thus transformed into a man without disability. This external change is achieved with the use of a unique device. By inserting a piece of white paper in a small gap made just under the eyebrows of the blind man, performers can close the puppet's eyes and then by pulling the piece

of paper they can reveal the original open eyes. The threading and flying method is conducted by pulling a string tied to the puppet's body. This method can be called *juseongye* (Kor. 주선계, Chin. 走線係, lit. moving the connected string). The pheasant puppet and the falcon puppet are animated by this method. The string handling method works by tying string to a specific part of the puppet and pulling it to make the relevant part move. This is how Hong Dongji's penis is manipulated.

The songs featured in Seosan Parkcheomji nori include "Building Gongjunga Temple," "Tteru Tterua Tteruya," "Song of the Bier Bearers," and "The Pyeongan-do Province Governor's Falcon Hunting."

The rhythms used in Seosan Parkcheomji nori are the *semachi jangdan*, *jajinmori jangdan*, and *jungjungmori jangdan*. The *semachi jangdan* of Seosan Parkcheomji nori is accompanied by songs rather than being played independently. Villagers also call this the *sori* (song) *jangdan*. "Tteru Tterua Tteruya," "The Pyeongan-do Province Governor's Falcon Hunting," and "Building Gongjunga Temple," which are repetitive songs, always adopt the *semachi jangdan*. This rhythm is the most frequently used along with the *jajinmori jangdan*. The *jajinmori jangdan* is also known as *samchae jangdan*. It is played at the beginning and end of Seosan Parkcheomji nori, functioning to construct the external framework of the performance. The *jajinmori jangdan* serves to turn the performance into a festive event by starting and ending the play in a joyous way. Moreover, as the *jajinmori jangdan* is played for all the exciting scenes involving dance the equation that excitement equals the *jajinmori jangdan* is established. The *jungjungmori jangdan* is used to accompany the "Song of the Bier Bearers" sung at the funeral of the Pyeongan-do Province governor. This rhythm pattern is still used at funerals in Tapgok-ri, Eummam-myeon in Seosan, Chungcheongnam-do Province, where Seosan Parkcheomji nori has been handed down. Accompanying the "Bier Bearers Song" ("Sangyeoga") with a bell-ringing sound, it creates a funeral atmosphere.

Gut nori

굿놀이

Dramatic sequences in *gut*, or rites performed by shamans.

Gut nori is the generic name for all dramatic performances by female or male shamans during shaman rites, called *gut*.

Gut nori stems from the traditions of *puri* and *nori* in shaman rites and hence it can be surmised that its historical origins are very old. Shaman rites contain components called *puri* and *nori*. When discussing the origins of Western theater, it is customary to talk about the *legomenon* (the thing said), which corresponds to *puri*, and the *dromenon* (the thing done), which corresponds to *nori*. If *puri* is something with a narrative and linguistic nature, then *nori* is dramatic and performative.

According to its place (order) in the rite, *gut nori* has a sequential aspect. If the *gut nori* handed down across the nation are classified according to type and studied, then the following points can be made.

First, the basic characteristic of *gut nori* is that it is based in the story of human beings, while the main proponents are nameless deities or spirits. Though they are sacred beings they are vulgarized and depicted as being faithful to the basic desires of humans, for which they are ridiculed and satirized. This characteristic is highlighted in satire of the sexual depravity and worldliness of the monks and the fact that sundry evil spirits are taken as the subject of *nori*.

Second, *gut nori* developed in richness and diversity as it spread across the country. Though the main subjects of *gut nori* are deities and miscellaneous spirits, *gut nori* in which the dramatic passions and desires of human beings are reflected in good, wholesome lives were spread nationwide in diverse ways.

Third, *gut nori* was not transmitted evenly in all regions and is discovered in diverse forms in Hwanghae-do Province, the east coast, and Jeju Island. A particularly diverse *gut nori* tradition has been handed down in Hwanghae-do Province, and it would not be an exaggeration to call it the home of *gut nori*. On the east coast and Jeju Island there are many types of *gut nori* related to *bonpuri*

(narration of the origin of the deity worshipped in the rite), and on Jeju Island all parts of the rite—*maji* (greeting the gods as they make their descent to the human world), *bonpuri* and *nori* (dramatic performance)—are present in a similar way.

These types of *gut nori* handed down in different regions are all related in terms of the place (in the overall performance) in which they were performed. Accordingly, *gut nori* can be divided into four categories.

- ① *Gut nori* performed as the final part of the whole *gut*.
 - ② *Gut nori* performed as the final part of individual rites in the *gut* (*gutgeori*).
 - ③ *Gut nori* as a separate performance.
 - ④ *Gut nori* performed as part of the *maji* at the beginning of the *gut*.
- ① This category refers to *gut nori* performed as the final act of the *gut* overall. In a wide-open outdoor space called *madang* (lit. yard), *nori* takes place as the closing part of the *gut*. The divine beings who are the most human come out into the *madang* to play around and act. That is, the miscellaneous spirits who do not have an act of their own in the *gut* or those who have met an unnatural or untimely death are the ones who generally appear. This final *gut nori* act goes by different names according to region, some of the major examples being *byeols-ingut daegori* on the east coast, *dodanggut dwitjeon* in Gyeonggi-do Province, and *andang dwitjeon* in Seoul.
 - ② This category refers to *gut nori* performed at the end of individual rites (*gutgeori*) in the whole *gut* performance. Different to the *gut nori* performed as the end of the whole *gut*, they are performed at the closing of individual rites and are closely related to the spirits and deities appearing in previous segments. In the east coast region in particular, there is a close link between the *bonpuri* and *nori*. That is, in many cases the *nori* is closely related to the deity who is invoked in the *bonpuri*. For example, *dorigang gwanwonnori* (featuring government officials) in *cheonwanggut* (rite to the Heavenly King); *jangnimnori* (featuring the blind man who is Simcheong's father) in *simcheonggut* (rite to Simcheong), and *malnori* (featuring a horse) in *sonnimgut* (rite to the smallpox spirit). These are examples where the *nori* part of the *gut* is linked to the *bonpuri*.
 - ③ This is a category of *gut nori* which are completely separate performances, with no connection to any of the other parts of the *gut*. There is no relation to the *bonpuri*, the narration of the origin of the deity worshipped in the rite. In some *gutgeori* there is a separate invocation of the deity and in others there is not. In



Dolhareubangchum (stone grandfather's dance) | Jeju-si, Jeju-do province | 2003 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Ipchun talgut nori masks | Jeju-si, Jeju-do province | 2004 | National Folk Museum of Korea

this category of *gut nori* as a completely separate performance, rather than narrating the history of the deity, the focus is placed on human conflict and conflict between humans and nature, which is an important distinction. Some major examples from the Hwanghae-do region are *dosan malmyeong bugwi bangajjimgut*, *sanyanggut*, and *yeongsan harabam halmamgut*.

- ④ *Gut nori* in this category are performed only in certain regions, specifically in the *maji* procedure, which is when preparations are made to receive the gods. This type of *gut nori* is found when greeting the gods. While explaining the order in which the gods are to appear, in some cases *gut nori* is performed as part of the *maji* to purify the path for the descent of the gods. This category includes such unique cases where the *nori* and *maji* are combined, showing a continuation of the type of performance that existed before *nori* and *maji* were separated.

Where *nori* is positioned in the *gut* is of great importance, and certain characteristics are associated with the order in which *nori* comes in the overall order of the rite. In some cases, *nori* and *puri* are combined and performed together and in others *gut nori* comes at the very end of the rite, showing diversity. Therefore, it is necessary to clearly identify where in the overall rite the *gut nori* is placed, that is, which part it constitutes.

As to the characteristics of *gut nori*, the following points can be made.

First, the *jeseokgut* type is dominant. Jeseok is the god that brings honor and good fortune, and there are a particularly large number of *gut nori* where prayers are made to Jeseok, and where the gods and people play together. Typically performed to ward off misfortune and bring in good fortune, this type of *gut nori* is marked by prayers or wishes for abundance through the act of procreation between man and woman. Some notable examples are *jeseokgut banganori* in Pyeongan-do Province, *chilseong: jeseokgut and jungdeombulnori* in Hwanghae-do Province, *jeseokgut* from Jeolla-do Province, and *jungdoduk jabinori* from the east coast.

Another form of *gut nori* related to *jeseokgut* is the *sonoreumgut* in which a cow is made fun of with joking and songs (*sori*). It is handed down in the Pyeongsan region of Hwanghae-do and Yangju region of Gyeonggi-do. It was probably developed out of the tradition of performing *gut nori* featuring cows at a time when agriculture was of prime importance.

Second, there developed *gut nori* performed at the end of the whole *gut* where sundry spirits are fed and sent on their way. This type of *gut nori* is held

under the premise that lonely ghosts (Kor. 무주고혼, Chin. 無主孤魂, lit. ownerless lonely souls) and beings who suffered unnatural or untimely deaths are transformed into sundry spirits. The performance proceeds by giving form to these figures who died unhappily and is characterized by its large number of scenes with many characters and the appearance of various forms and images for the sake of the dead souls. These beings are neither sacred nor dignified but are not lampooned in a worldly way. Good examples of this type of *gut nori* are *jarigombangnori* from Pyeongan-do Province, *madanggut* from Hwanghae-do Province, *andang dwitjeon* from Seoul, *dwitjeon* from Gyeonggi-do Province, *jungcheon maegi* from Jeolla-do Province, and *daegeori* from the east coast.

Third, *gut nori* that express conflict between human beings and nature are important. These include *beomgut* (catching a tiger) and *hosallyanggut* (preventing tiger related disasters) which are part of individual rites (*gutgeori*). In both of these types of *gut nori*, the tiger is an important character. Both show humans imitating tigers in a procedure aimed to pacify the souls who were killed and eaten by tigers, but in content and composition they are different. The theme of *beomgut* is driving out the tiger. In contrast, in *hosallyanggut* a dog is offered to the tiger as a sacrifice, expressing people's fear of the tiger.

Aside from those mentioned here, individual *gut nori* performed across Korea are all worthy of notice. They attest to the development of *gut nori* based on various distinct systems of thought. It is evaluated that each developed within the cultural context of the *gut* complete with regional characteristics. In this respect, it is recognized that each individual *gut nori* example is much more important. As the lineage of each is not revealed they have no common points, but each is important for the meaning it holds.

Gut nori has an important place in Korean folk drama. Unlike other forms of folk drama, *gut nori* emphasizes the principle of magical prayers for abundance by expelling evil and promoting good fortune. On the other hand, it also unfolds by embodying the principle of expelling evil by chasing away evil spirits. It is these disparate elements that distinguish *gut nori* from other folk dramas. The seemingly disparate elements, however, are mutually compatible in that they emphasize harmony and appeasing rather than overpowering or threatening (Kor. 위하, Chin. 威嚇, lit. frighten with power) in order to release grudges and lingering feelings and artistic exhilaration. Although the common points with folk drama are emphasized, *gut nori* has some unique and different aspects.

Gut nori has the characteristics of a monodrama. Mudang, the shaman, per-





Torch dance in Yeonggam nori | Jeju-si, Jeju-do province | National Folk Museum of Korea



Paper masks and costumes in Yeonggam nori | Jeju-si, Jeju-do province | National Folk Museum of Korea

forms in partnership with the *janggu* (hourglass-shaped drum) player, while each performs his or her own *gut nori*. The shaman may play one role or multiple roles alone, or several shamans may appear to play several different roles, but in *gut nori* there is always an opposite role. This role is usually played by a musician, most often the *janggu* player. According to region the *janggu* player goes by various names, including *sulmaji* in Pyeongan-do Province, *sanggyodae* or *jang-gubalmai* in Hwanghae-do Province, and *gidae* or *gyedae*, *baraji* or *yangjung*, *goin*, *neosamae*, and *neodoryeong* in Seoul.

Gut nori is thus different from *bonpuri*, where the shaman gives a solo recital of the history of the deity to be invoked, and also departs from the *maji* segment, where preparations are made to receive the deity by clearing the path and making the invocation. As in usual *nori* performances, there is a person playing an opposite role, which can be seen as a common point. From another perspective, however, *gut nori* is different in that, as in *gutgeori*, there is a deity or other main character who is the opposite role that the shaman performs with.

Gut nori is a complete art form combining song, dance, music and drama. As a comprehensive show, it is performed once in the outdoor *madang* in a multifaceted way. In this respect, *gut nori* features free and independent dramatic composition, and though it is simple it is comprehensive. In this sense, it goes along the same lines as other folk dramas.

The real significance of *gut nori* is that while it functions as an independent folk drama it also provides many clues to the formation of masked dance-dramas and puppet plays. In *gut nori*, not only are the fundamentals for transition to drama put into action, the portraits of our everyday lives can be found, providing the catalyst for the development of *gut* into drama. *Gut nori* holds vital importance for providing notably innovative themes and subject matter in the history of Korean theater through the birth of folk drama, and its influence and ups and downs.

ROLES



Aesadang

애사당

Daughter of Waejangnyeo; a silent character in *sandaenori* performances.

Daughter of Waejangnyeo, appearing in *sandaenori* handed down in the central part of the country. Aesadang, a silent character with no lines, is paid to attend on Meokjung, a depraved Buddhist monk, and is sexually harrassed when she plays the Buddhist drum, *beopgo*.

Aesadang refers to a young female itinerant entertainer (*yeosadang*) as opposed to a male itinerant entertainer (*namsadang*).

The name and actions of Aesadang, who appears in *sandaenori*, gives us insight into *sadangpae*, or troupes of female itinerant entertainers of the past. Waejangnyeo appears accompanied by Aesadang. Wearing a monastic robe (*jangsam*) with part of her stomach exposed, she appears dancing flamboyantly. Aesadang, her daughter, appears wearing a ribbon tied to braided hair and a colorful jacket and skirt, with rouge on the cheeks and the forehead. These two women characters show the traces of *sadangpae*, composed of female itinerant entertainers. Groups of female itinerant entertainers and groups of male itinerant entertainers made a living by touring villages to carry out performances mostly composed of music and dance. Within the female troupes the leader was called *mogabi* and her asisstant was called *geosa*. These female entertainers performed *sadangbeok-kuchum*, songs like “San Taryeong” (“Mountain Song”), witty repartee, and comic tightrope walking focused on songs.

The troupes of itinerant female entertainers were to some degree connected with Buddhist temples. Groups of professional entertainers such as *sadang* or *geosa* were composed of entertainers who belonged neither to Buddhism nor to the secular world, and were formed in the wake of anti-Buddhist policy that shut down Buddhist temples in the country that was implemented during the reign of King Taejong, third monarch of the Joseon Dynasty. They toured the country and performed a variety of entertainments and acrobatic skills for a living. Originally, the Buddhist sangha consisted of four groups: *bigu* (Kor. 비



Aesadang buk nori (Yangju Byeolsandaenori) | Yangju City in Gyeonggi-do Province | National Folk Museum of Korea



Aesadang (Yangju Byeolsandaenori) | Yangju City in Gyeonggi-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

구, Chin. 比丘) refers to ordained male monks, *biguni* (Kor. 비구니, Chin. 比丘尼) to Buddhist nuns, *ubasae* (Kor. 우바새, Chin. 優婆塞) refers to a male layman, and *ubai* (Kor. 우바이, Chin. 優婆夷) refers to a female layperson. *Yeollyeosilgisul* (*Narratives of Yeollyeosil*) (Kor. 연려실기술, Chin. 燃藜室記述),²¹ however, says that *ubasae*, or *upasaka* in Sanskrit, means *geosa*, and *ubai* (San. *upasika*) means *sadang*. Based on this description, *geosa* and *sadang* are found among the four groups in the sangha. Therefore, the term *sadang* was derived from a female layperson and *sadangpae* can be viewed as a group of female entertainers who were expelled from Buddhist temples and became itinerant performers. Meanwhile, *sadang* and *gesapae* appear in *talchum* performances from the Haeseo region of Hwanghae-do Province, singing “Seonsori San Taryeong” (Kor. 선소리산타령, lit. mountain song performed standing). While the *sadangpae* were purely groups of entertainers, the Aesadang character in masked dance-dramas is a softened version of the itinerant entertainer as an ordinary member of society.

Among the regions where *sandaenori* featuring Waejangnyeo and Aesadang is performed, Yangju was an *eupchi* district (Kor. 읍치, Chin. 邑治), the seat of town administration of Joseon where a district magistrate dwelled, whereas Songpa or Toegyewon were *jangsi*, districts where waterborne commerce flourished. Therefore, these areas served as major bases for wandering entertainers and seem to have been in their sphere of influence.

The mask worn by Aesadang is shared with Somu. It is white and overall similar to that of Sangjiwa, the novice monk, with hair parted in the middle and rouge on the cheeks and forehead, elements that distinguish Aesadang from Sangjiwa. Aesadang has long eyes and her lips are like the character for the number eight (八) lying sideways. She wears a ribbon in her hair and a white peaked hat, and a jacket with multicolored striped sleeves (*saekdong*) and a red skirt. Over the jacket and skirt, she wears a white monastic robe with a red sash and carries the *beopgo* (Buddhist drum) in her hands.

Aesadang is a character who attends on men for money in urban *eupchi* areas or waterside *jangsi* areas where *sandaenori* is performed. She is a settled version of the itinerant entertainer with a certain connection to Buddhist temples. During the masked dance performance Aesadang is sexually harassed by Meokjung.

21. Supplementary collection of historical records authored by Yi Geungik during the Joseon Dynasty.

Baltalkkun

발탈꾼

Actor and puppeteer in *baltal*, foot puppet play.

Actor who manipulates puppets with the hands and feet and speaks their lines in *baltal* performances.

In *baltal*, or foot mask play, there is an actor who functions as Yuramgaek, the wanderer. The actor is not a human, however, but a puppet. The human performer who manipulates the puppets and speaks their lines is called Baltalkkun, who sits inside the covered walls of the stage. The behavior and remarks of Yuramgaek, which are seen and heard by the audience, all come from the Baltalkkun. As such the Baltalkkun undertakes an important, but invisible, role in *baltal* performances.

To perform his role properly, the human performer needs tools such as a chair and a bamboo rod that controls the puppets' movements like a joystick. The Baltalkkun manipulates puppets throughout the performance using his hands and feet, so it is necessary for the human performer to be securely seated in a chair that will allow him or her to undertake his duties under stable conditions. Originally, however, the Baltalkkun did not sit in a chair. During the period when Lee Dongan (1906-1995) worked as a Baltalkkun, he used a bed to lay down aslant to control the puppets, a pillow to support his head, a back support, and a leg-rest. However, it was extremely difficult for the Baltalkkun to speak the lines and control the puppets in a lying position. For those reasons, Baltalkkun began to use a chair. To make the arms of the puppet move the Baltalkkun needs a bamboo rod. The puppeteer holds a pair of bamboo rods in his both hands, making the movements of the puppet's arms. The arm movements of the sightseer puppet are all controlled by these bamboo rods, called *palttegi* (disparaging term for "arms"), which began to be used when Lee Dongan restored the *baltal* performance tradition. Park Chunjae (朴春載, 1883-1950) began to use his own hands to make the movements of the puppets' arms. Lee Dongan also tried the same method but found it cumbersome and resumed the use of bamboo rods.

Baltalkkun manipulate puppets with every fiber of their bodies. The two

hands are used to move the puppet's two arms and the feet to control its face. According to those who have seen *baltal* performances in person, it seems that Baltalkkun were unlikely to have used just a single method of moving the puppets. In general, there seems to have been seven types of puppet manipulation techniques in use: ① movements of the puppets' arms made through straps connected to the shoulders of a puppet; ② double movement of the puppet's arm using controlling straps attached to both the elbows and shoulders; ③ double movement of the puppet's arms using controlling straps attached to the elbows and wrists; ④ arm movements made by using long sleeve extensions worn by the Baltalkkun; ⑤ strings are tied to the ends of both arms then raised up and attached to a pair of bamboo sticks, which the Baltalkkun uses to make the puppet's arm movements; ⑥ a mask is worn on the feet, musical instruments are played by hand, and sound is made with the mouth; ⑦ a bamboo rod is attached to both the puppet's arms. These seven techniques are categorized according to the way the puppets' arms are controlled, as the the head movements are uniformly made by the puppeteer's feet, which are covered with the puppet's face mask. Those seven techniques can be recategorized as follows according to the puppeteering methods currently in use: combination of hand and string puppet manipulation methods (①, ②, ③, and ⑤); hand puppet manipulation method (④, ⑥); and combination of hand puppet and rod puppet manipulation methods (⑦).

The head movements of puppets featured in *baltal* performances are made by the puppeteer moving his or her feet. Baltalkkun move the feet wearing a mask, which in turn makes the puppet's head move. This manipulation method is similar to that used for hand puppets, which are made to move by the puppeteers' hands inside the body or head of the puppet. The unusual manipulation technique employed in *baltal* performances, where a puppeteer's feet movements are used, is similar to the hand puppet manipulation method. However, in hand puppet shows, it is possible for puppets to make very subtle and exaggerated movements while this is not the case in *baltal* performances. This is because the puppets are controlled by the feet not by hands, which can move much more freely than the feet. Head movements of puppets that are produced by the movements of the puppeteer's feet include leaning forward, sticking the head out by separating it from the body, separating the head from the body for a second and then returning to its original position, nodding, shaking, moving left to right, moving back and forth, swiftly moving, shaking in place, and quivering. Such movements are mostly generated by the Baltalkkun using the ankles. These head

movements are rough and crude but are very similar to the way people move their heads in diverse situations of daily life. However, there are some exceptions. A case in point is the movement called *mongnori*, literally meaning “neck play,” in which the puppet’s neck is separated from the body and stuck out far. This is a unique performance technique derived from the inherent characteristics of puppets and cannot be done by human actors wearing masks. *Mongnori* in the *baltal* performance is one of the unique acting techniques performed only by puppets.

The head movements done by Yuramgaek have certain implications. When a certain feeling or movement in given circumstances needs to be expressed, a corresponding movement is generated.

The movements of both arms of the wanderer puppet appearing in the *baltal* performance is the result of the Baltalkkun controlling the puppet’s arms connected to a bamboo rod. This technique is called the rod manipulation technique. The movements generated by rods are more flexible and fluid compared to movements generated by the puppeteer’s feet. Emotional changes in Yuramgaek are expressed by the arms, controlled by a bamboo rod attached to the puppet’s arms. As such, the arm movements are of great importance in representing the Yuramgaek character. The arm movements of Yuramgaek created by the Baltalkkun include shaking with both arms wide open, covering the face with both hands, covering the face with one hand, flinging out one of the arms, moving the arms back and forth alternately, keeping both arms dangling, shaking both arms from left to right, raising one arm and swaying the other, spreading out both arms, putting both arms together in an X shape and then spreading out both arms over the head, raising and shaking both hands, and putting up both hands for a little while and bringing them back to the original position. These movements are created to represent given circumstances such as when emotional changes occur in the wanderer or the wanderer is dancing.

The performance carried out by the puppets in *baltal* is not solely restricted to movements. In addition to the diverse movements introduced above, the puppet actors also speak and even sing. Of course, the remarks and song of the puppet actors all come from the Baltalkkun, who is behind the covered stage. Through voice acting, the Baltalkkun produces the speech and singing of the puppet. The puppeteer is behind the scenes and therefore not visible to the audience, which makes the puppet actors appear to speak and sing on their own. Baltalkkun thus move the puppet’s arms and head, while providing the voice for puppet actors, trying to make the puppets appear to speak on their own. The puppet’s remarks



Baltalkkun inside the covered stage manipulating puppets | 2004 | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage



Baltalkkun holding bamboo rods in both hands to control a puppet | 2004 | National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage

and song are much more natural and diverse than their body movements as the voice is not restricted, unlike their body movements resulting from their inherent characteristics as puppets. In addition to casual everyday speech, the voice ranges over diverse styles including witty repartee, chanting narrative songs of traditional Korean poems (*sijo*), and singing vulgar songs (*japga*), folk songs (*minyo*), short lyrical songs (*danga*) of *pansori*, and shamanic songs (*muga*). *Baltal* performances are characterized by their improvised and flexible repertoires, which include local folk songs and vulgar songs depending on the area or circumstances where performances are held, or narrative songs of traditional Korean poems or short lyrical songs that are designed to boost the audience's viewing experience. Therefore, the Baltalkkun responsible for providing the voice of the puppet actors must be skilled in various genres, including folk songs, vulgar songs, *sijo*, *danga* and shamanic songs.

Baltal performances feature a half-body puppet that plays the part of Yuramgaek, making remarks, dancing and singing throughout the performance. The speech and movements are produced by the human performer called Baltalkkun behind a walled-stage. The human performer in *baltal* performances controls the puppet actor in an extraordinary manner. A mask is worn on one of the Baltalkkun's two feet, which are stuck out through the cloth covering the stage behind which the puppeteer is sitting; a long bamboo rod that functions to move the arms is held in the left and right hands, respectively. By moving the feet and both arms, the Baltalkkun can move the head and both arms of the half-body puppet, that is, of Yuramgaek. Indeed, the entire body of the Baltalkkun is used to manipulate puppet actors. This technique of using the feet for manipulation is unique, not found in any other form of puppet show. Puppet shows performed by Baltalkkun are called *baltal*, *baljangnan* (foot play), *joktal* (foot mask) or *jokgamyeon* (foot mask), names derived from the unique way the puppet play is performed.

The head movements of the puppet in a *baltal* performance result from the feet movements made by the Baltalkkun. The puppeteer moves the feet, on which a mask is placed, which in turn makes the puppet's head move. This method is similar to the manipulation method used for hand puppets, where the puppeteers' hands are placed inside the body or head of the puppet. It can be said that *baltal* performances currently performed use a combination of the hand puppet and rod puppet manipulation techniques. Manipulating the foot puppet requires multiple handling skills, which is a unique feature to *baltal*. Among

the numerous puppet actors that appear in Kkokdugaksinoreum performed by *namsadangpae* or Seosan Parkcheomji noreum, this combination of techniques is not required. The foot movements made by the Baltalkkun behind the stage are manifested as the head and arm movements of the puppet. The control of puppets by a puppeteer behind the confined boundaries of a covered stage is a common feature of the traditional puppet shows Kkokdugaksinoreum and Seosan Parkcheomji noreum. However, the use of both the hands and feet, employing the hand puppet and rod puppet manipulation techniques, is unique to *baltal* performances.

Chwibari

취발이

A character who clashes with the old monk Nojang over a woman.

A character who appears in the Nojang (old monk) act to drive the old monk out, which is a part of masked dance-dramas performed in the central and Hae-seo regions of the country.

It has been assumed that the name Chwibari (Kor. 취발이, Chin. 醉僧, lit. drunken monk) refers to a drunken monk.

Chwibari, a character who appears in various types of masked dance-dramas (*gamyongeuk*), has some common features throughout all performances. This character wears a red mask with multiple lines on the forehead and long hair hanging over the forehead; he also holds a willow branch with a bell tied to it. These common features are invariably found in Chwibari masks used in *gamyongeuk* performed these days as well as those used in the past, such as the mask from Yangju Byeolsandaenori collected in 1929, the mask from Gupabal Bonsandaenori collected in the latter half of the 1930s, and the *sandaenori* mask housed in the Seoul National University Museum. Thanks to these common



Chwibari masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

features in appearance, it is easy to distinguish Chwibari's mask regardless of era. Despite the differences in place among Seoul, Gyeonggi-do Province, and Hwanghae-do Province as well as temporal differences between the 1930s and today, that the Chwibari masks are all similar means that a set form for the mask had been established a long time ago.

Chwibari wears a red, demon-faced mask and appears holding a willow branch with a bell tied to it. There is a theory that, taking into account such external features, Chwibari is a character who drives evil spirits away.

The common features of Chwibari can be easily found by looking at the character's function and role in the development of stories. Chwibari vies with Nojang for Somu's love and finally succeeds in winning her over. Such a development is commonly found in various types of *gamyongeuk*, particularly at the point where Chwibari appears. In addition, another common story development is that Chwibari has a baby with Somu after winning her love.

Chwibari's appearance and behavior represent secular and realistic popular perception and attitudes. On the other hand, Nojang is depicted as having ideological false consciousness. For this reason, some argue that Chwibari's victory over Nojang in the love triangle represents a practical alternative in a world filled with ideological false consciousness.

Daejabi

대잡이

Puppeteer in traditional Korean puppet plays.

A puppeteer who handles puppets, sings songs and makes witty remarks in the traditional Korean puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.

Traditionally, Kkokdugaksinoreum was performed in the open, so various kinds of audio devices were required to clearly convey the lines spoken by the performers. Since humorous and witty remarks play a significant part in puppet plays, effective delivery of the actors' lines to the audience was of paramount importance. This traditional puppet play was an entertaining performance consisting of the puppets' movements and the performers' witty remarks. Kkokdugaksinoreum as performed in the past as a part of *namsadangnori*, performed by male itinerant entertainers, is passed down under the name *deolmi*, which is more simplified in terms of stagecraft and performance time.

Inside a portable covered stage sit the *daejabi*, the primary puppeteer, and assistant puppeteers called *daejabison*, who provide a helping hand for the main puppeteer on both sides. The stage on which the traditional puppet play is performed is placed above the ground, slightly higher than the eye level of the audience. The space is so narrow that the puppeteer can touch the walls of the covered stage with arms outstretched. In this confined space, *daejabi* and *daejabison* control the puppets.

The main puppeteer and his assistants generally raise both hands while manipulating the puppets to make the movements look natural. Since only the upper part of the heads of the *daejabi* and *daejabison* beyond the stage are shown to the audience, the puppeteers are hardly visible. When the show begins, the *daejabi* sits in the middle and is flanked by the *daejabison* as they control the puppets.

Daejabi, as a professional entertainer who leads the puppet play, not only has the skill to handle the puppets but a profound understanding of the whole show, including the music, the delivery of the lines, as well as the on-going situation



Daejabi (Seosan Parkcheomji nori) | National Folk Museum of Korea

on stage. In this sense, it seems natural that there were a large number of *deolmi-soe*, equivalent to *daejabi*, among leaders of *namsadangpae*,²² who were called the *kkokdusoe*. In other words, *daejabi* was recognized as a competent leader of the troupe, equipped with professionalism, leadership, and the ability to capture the attention of the audience.

In addition, *daejabi* is a key actor in the performance of Kkokdugaksinoreum, being responsible for making witty remarks. The main puppeteer brings to life a collection of entertaining and high-spirited characters. Park Cheomji, Hong Dongji, Jillyeo (niece) and Myeoneuri (daughter-in-law), Sangjwa (novice monk), Dongbangsak, and Kkokdugaksi are all lively characters who are unable to keep their high spirits under control and always seem highly animated. Park Cheomji, who goes sightseeing throughout the country; Hong Dongji, who hurtles around naked with his penis exposed and ends up getting in trouble; Jillyeo, Myeoneuri, and Sangjwa, who have affairs and wander around mountains and fields; and Dongbangsak, who dances around, are all characters with such high spirits that they cannot control themselves. As such, the witty remarks made by the *daejabi* are highly playful, but they also contain satire of reality, criticism of and resistance to the corrupt ruling class, and longing for an ideal world. The *daejabi* leads the comic dialogue during the performance, sometimes intentionally revealing the characteristic ignorance of entertainers as he skillfully controls the level of sexually crude humor and violence, and destructive impulses. The *daejabi*'s witty remarks, which reflect wandering Park Cheomji's perspective, mostly lampoon the hierarchical society, domestic affairs, conflicts between the wife and concubine, and foreign powers. However, his satirical remarks are also aimed at the *daejabi* himself. In other words, the witty repartee of Kkokdugaksinoreum contains self-critical and self-disparaging elements, through which the traditional puppet play conveys a unique view of the world.

22. *Namsadangpae* refers to a troupe of male itinerant entertainers.

Deolmeorijip

덜머리집

Concubine of the old man, Yeonggam.

Concubine of the the old man (Yeonggam) in traditional Korean masked dance-dramas and the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.

Various Korean masked dance-dramas feature a character like Deolmeorijip, who appears as the concubine of Yeonggam. In these performances, the concubine goes by various names that reflect her place of origin: Yongsansamgae Deolmeorijip and Deolmeorijip (in Kkokdugaksinoreum); Jemulju (or Jemulpojjip in Goseong Ogwangdae); Jedaegaksi (or Jemulpojjip in Suyeong Yaryu); Jejagaksi (or Jemulpojjip in Tongyeong Ogwangdae); Jemilji (or Jemulpojjip); and Seoulaegi (Gasan Ogwangdae). Otherwise, the female character is called by names that reflect her characteristics, like Ttungttanjijip in Enyul Talchum, who is called Jageunmanura (second wife) in Songpa Sandaenori. In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, the role of Yeonggam's concubine is undertaken by Somu, who is also the concubine of Saennim (feeble scholar). In addition, as shown in Gangnyeong Talchum and Bongsan Talchum, the concubine is the source of conflict with the wife, Miyalhalmi, but it is the man, Yeonggam, himself who does her harm and causes her death. In Enyul Ogwangdae and Tongyeong Ogwangdae, however, the concubine is the direct cause of the wife's death.

In Bongsan Talchum, Deolmeorijip appears in the seventh act, *miyalchum* (dance of the old woman). The old couple Yeonggam and Halmi make their appearance when they are reunited long after the war, during which they had been separated, after wandering around looking for each other. At this moment, Yeonggam's concubine appears and a quarrel between the old couple ensues. The fight between Yeonggam and Halmi evolves into a conflict between the two women fighting for Yeonggam's affection.

Halmi decides to leave but demands that her husband should share his property with her. When dividing his fortune, Yeonggam takes all the valuable assets and gives Halmi useless things such as fallow land, a family of mice, worn-out



Yeonggam and Deolmeorijip (Bongsan Talchum)
National Theater of Korea in Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

straw shoes, a reed fan, and a traditional men's formal hat (*gat*). When Halmi demands more, Yeonggam gets angry and starts to break things around the house. Then the old man suddenly collapses, cursed by the gods. Halmi cries out, "Is there any young man living in the town who is tall and has a big nose? Let's take my husband away and bury him, and then you and I can live happily together." At that moment, Yeonggam rises and beats Halmi to death. Next a shaman appears and performs *jinogwigut* (rite to send the soul of the dead to the next world) to relieve Halmi's suffering soul. In *yaryu* and *ogwangdae* masked dance-dramas, Bongsa (blind man) chants the Buddhist sutras and the bier bearers sing *sangyeotsori* (dirge). In depicting Halmi's pitiful life, the Halmi act criticizes the tyranny of men against women.

Deolmeorijip, Yeonggam's concubine, appears in various types of masked dance-drama and the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum. Although this character is called by different names in different performances, such as Yongsansamgae Deolmeorijip, Deolmeorijip, Jemuljip, Jedaegaksi, Jejagaksi, Jemilji, and Seoulaegi, the role is always the same. Under the dominant view from the early stages of *gamyongeuk* research, the major themes of traditional masked dance-dramas are: 1) ritual *byeoksa* (Kor. 벽사, Chin. 辟邪, lit. exorcism of evil spirits) dance; 2) satire of apostate monks; 3) insulting the *yangban* class (the ruling class of the Joseon Dynasty); 4) love triangle among a husband, his concubine, and his wife, and the miserable conditions of the commoner's life. Deolmeorijip, the cause of conflict between husband and wife, serves to bring out the masculine tyranny of Yeonggam.

Dokki

도끼

Son of Sinharabi and brother of Dokkinui in *sandaenori* performances.

Son of Sinharabi, a character who appears in *sandaenori* masked dance-dramas. Dokki steals money from his father and runs away from home. Upon the death of his mother, Miyalhami, he returns home to hold the funeral with his sister, Dokkinui.

Dokki is a character who appears in the Sinharabi and Miyalhami act of Songpa Sandaenori, Yangju Byeolsandaenori, and Toegyewon Sandaenori. Dokki, the son of Sinharabi and Miyalhami, ran away from home, but reappears with his sister, Dokkinui, after hearing of their mother's death and participates in her funeral. However, in Yangju Byeolsandaenori, and Toegyewon Sandaenori, Dokki runs away because he lost all his money playing *golpae* (a gambling game of pairing tiles made of bones according to the shape and number of holes on the tiles), while on an errand to repay money his father had borrowed.

In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Sinharabi and Miyalhami start quarreling while watching a *sandaenori* performance. Sinharabi proposes divorce and Miyalhami agrees, but then she suddenly dies. In this situation, in order to hold a funeral for his wife, Sinharabi begins to look for his son, Dokki, who ran away from home, and his daughter, Dokkinui, who lost touch with her family after getting married. Miyalhami's two children return for their mother's funeral. Then Dokkinui becomes a shaman and performs *jinogwigut* to comfort the soul of Miyalhami. In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Dokki ran away from home after gambling away all the money his father Sinharabi had given him to pay back the loan to the usurer Kim Dongji. Dokki even makes his sister suffer due to the high interest on the loan. Dokki tells his sister tales of their father driving their mother Miyalhami to her death. But Dokkinui is highly wary of Dokki, as he is a character who also inflicts incestuous abuse on his sister, kidnaps her and sells her to a restaurant. Stories related to Dokki in Toegyewon Sandaenori are generally similar to those in Yangju Byeolsandaenori.



Dokki and Miyalhalmi (Yangju Byeolsandaenori) | 2009 | National Folk Museum of Korea

In Songpa Sandaenori Dokki and Dokkinui, the children of Sinharabi, have been out of touch, but the reason why is not clear. Dokki is simply depicted as an old bachelor. Meanwhile, the stories in which Dokki abuses his sister incestuously or where incest is mentioned are similar to those in Yangju Byeolsandaenori. There are other common denominators: Dokki makes sexually deviant jokes, including his reference to his deceased mother's sexual capability with his father and loses his sister's trust. As such, Dokki is an immoral and unreliable figure, but at the same time he is a figure who does not deny basic family bonds, given that after learning of his mother's death, he returns home and holds a funeral with his father.

Dokki is a corrupt and prodigal character. He is portrayed as a moral deviant who indulges in gambling, and is even involved in incest and kidnapping. He has lived away from his parents and kin, but when his mother passes away, Dokki's blood ties with his family are tentatively restored. These episodes offer a realistic representation of a society in which families break down and morality collapses. The deviant behavior of those of certain social classes, including money lending,

collapsing marriages, gambling, sexual aberration, and human trafficking, results in social confusion, which is disclosed in masked dance-dramas, which thus realistically depict the miserable and chaotic lives of the common people. Taking his mother's death as an opportunity, Dokki temporally purifies himself through a shaman rite (*gut*) that helps him escape from the absurdity of real life.

Dokkinui

도끼누이

Daughter of Sinharabi and sister of Dokki in *sandaenori* performances.

Daughter of Sinharabi, a character who appears in *sandaenori* masked dance-dramas. Dokkinui leads a poor and solitary life after the death or disappearance of her husband. Upon the death of her mother, Miyalhalmi, she holds the funeral with her brother, Dokki.

Dokkinui is a character who appears in the Sinharabi and Miyalhalmi act of Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Songpa Sandaenori, and Toegyewon Sandaenori. (In Songpa Sandaenori, the character is called Sinhalmi, whose role is the same as Miyalhalmi in other masked dance-dramas.) The married daughter of Sinharabi and Miyalhalmi, Dokkinui, who has lost touch with her parents, lives in poverty without her husband, who either left home or died.

In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Dokkinui leads a miserable life, bound to pay back a high-interest loan to Kim Dongji, the result of being deceived by her brother, Dokki. She lost contact with her parents for three years and for these reasons, Dokkinui is highly wary of her brother. In particular, her distrust of Dokki has been exacerbated by his attempt to sell her to the owner of a restaurant and by his jokes insinuating that she had an incestuous relationship with their father. Dokkinui initially disbelieves Dokki when he tells her of their mother's death. This is because Dokki is a corrupt and prodigal figure who gam-



Dokkinui, Dokki, Sinharabi and Miyalhalmi (Songpa Sandaenori) | National Folk Museum of Korea

bled away the money that his father gave him to pay back a monthly installment on a loan to the usurer Kim Dongji and is even involved in kidnapping and incest. Meanwhile, in Yangju Byeolsandaenori Dokkinui becomes a shaman after the death of Miyalhalmi, presiding over *jinogwigut*, a shaman rite held to send the spirit of her deceased mother Miyalhalmi to the afterlife. In other words, Dokkinui plays the double role of daughter of Miyalhalmi-turned-shaman. In Toegyewon Sandaenori and Songpa Sandaenori, however, Dokkinui does not appear as a shaman.

In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Sinharabi and Miyalhalmi go to watch a *sandaenori* performance and soon begin to quarrel. During the argument, Sinharabi proposes a divorce, which upsets Miyalhalmi. But then she suddenly dies. Sinharabi searches for his children, Dokki and Dokkinui, to hold a funeral for his dead wife. The two children appear and, after confirming their mother's death in person, hold the funeral. At the funeral, Dokkinui serves as a shaman to perform *jinogwigut*, comforting the spirit of Miyalhalmi. The Sinharabi and Miyalhalmi act of Toegyewon Sandaenori are mostly similar to that of Yangju Byeolsandaenori.

Dokkinui appears in Songpa Sandaenori as a widow, whose husband left her after only three years of marriage. Her parents-in-law have also passed away, leaving her to live a poor and solitary life. Dokkinui's distrust of her brother, Dokki, is the same as that shown in Yangju Byeolsandaenori. However, as depicted in Songpa Sandaenori there is no clear explanation as to why the two siblings were estranged from each other.

Dokkinui had cut off contact with her parents because of her runaway husband and distrust of her brother. Meanwhile, her brother is depicted as a corrupt and immoral figure who indulges in gambling and is involved in incest and human trafficking. Overall, Dokkinui's family is a miniature version of the real world with its collapse of traditional values and weakening morality. Through issues such as the severance of family ties, money lending, the break-up of marriage after one's spouse runs away, gambling, human trafficking, and sexual depravity the masked dance-drama provides a picture of social chaos. Through her mother's death, Dokkinui succeeds in overcoming the absurdity of real life and achieving temporary purification through a shaman rite.

Eomuldoga Juin

어물도가 주인

Fishmonger who appears in *baltal*, foot puppet play.

Fishmonger who appears in *baltal* puppet plays. A very strict person, Eomuldoga Juin constantly squabbles with Yuramgaek, the wanderer known for his deviant behavior.

Along with Yuramgaek, Eomuldoga Juin (Kor. 어물도가 주인, Chin. 魚物都家主人, lit. owner of a fish shop) leads the *baltal* performance. The fishmonger has a store in Mapo by the riverside. In front of the shop, he meets Yuramgaek, who is traveling around the country and with whom he is involved in constant squab-

bles. Yuramgaek and Eomuldoga Juin squabble over many things: greetings, appearance, *sijochang* (narrative songs based on *sijo* poems), *beoteun taryeongchum* (traditional free style dance to *beoteun jangdan*), sightseeing across the country, food items, mimicking a person counting fish, vulgar songs (*japga*), *ppareun jangdanchum* (dance to a fast rhythm), a yellow corvina seller, and medicines. During their quarrels, Yuramgaek displays his deviant and festive nature, whereas the fishmonger displays his honest and law-abiding personality. Eomuldoga Juin controls or challenges Yuramgaek's extravagant and deviant behavior and remarks, stressing the importance of abiding by the norms and explaining what is normal.

In *baltal* performances, Eomuldoga Juin's role is just more than the owner of a fish shop. As a skilled professional joker, he introduces Yuramgaek to the audience, expanding the theatrical space, and creates momentum for new episodes to develop, thereby helping the *baltal* performance to proceed smoothly. The area of Yuramgaek's activity is limited to the front of the covered stage. He cannot move beyond this space as he can only move and speak according to the manipulation of *baltalkkun* behind the covered stage. Therefore, the theatrical space is bound to be limited. However, spatial limitations are resolved by the appearance of Eomuldoga Juin who, present outside of the covered stage, converses with Yuramgaek, which in turn expands and gives depth to the theatrical space. In other words, the limited and two-dimensional theatrical space of the covered stage is enlarged. In addition, Eomuldoga Juin, while exchanging dialogue with Yuramgaek, expands the entire performance space to include the audience. Eomuldoga Juin's efforts to engage the audience, including remarks such as, "Very old guests we have here among the audience," make the real world an extension of the situation on stage. This is realization of a principle commonly shared by Korea's traditional folk drama that the performance space is the same as the site where the dramatic scenes unfold.

In addition to expanding the theatrical space, Eomuldoga Juin also provides momentum to help the story to proceed. The fish shop owner raises questions like "Who is he?" or "What does he want to do?" as he induces Yuramgaek to give clearer answers. Through this process, the audience learns that Yuramgaek is travelling around the country. In addition, Eomuldoga Juin, throughout the performance, plays opposite to the wanderer, exchanging conversations with him and clarifying answers given by the wanderer by asking further questions. Eomuldoga Juin hence helps to lead the entire *baltal* performance. *Baltal* does not

develop based on consistent theatrical logic. Rather, it is composed of a series of isolated episodes. These episodes include identifying who is who, introducing each other, talking in a casual way, greetings, appearance, *sijochang*, *heoteun taryeongchum*,²³ sightseeing across the country, food items, mimicking a person counting fish, vulgar songs, *ppareun gutgeori jangdanchum* (dance to a fast *gutgeori* rhythm), yellow corvina sellers, drug peddlers, stories about food, and *gosasori* (songs sung in a gosa rite to pray for blessings for the household). These episodes are independent, not logical and interconnected. Therefore, omitting one of them does not affect the development of the performance. When moving from one episode to the next, however, it is notable that Eomuldoga Juin appears without fail to sum up the previous episode and introduce the next episode. In other words, he guides the audience through the *baltal* performance.

Eomuldoga Juin appears holding a fan in his hand. Throughout the performance, while making witty remarks and singing songs, he unfolds and folds the fan in a timely manner. The fan is used to slap Yuramgaek while they are squabbling. In the past, Eomuldoga Juin wore a topknot and *tangeon* (horsehair skullcap), and had a beard. In recent years, the role of Eomuldoga Juin is undertaken by a female actor. As a result, the character wears a hairband and has no beard. In the past the costume consisted of short jacket and pants and long jacket (*magja*) on top but today the long jacket is replaced with a vest.

23. Traditional free style dance performed to the *heoteun jangdan*.

Halmi

할미

Old woman who is the wife of Yeonggam in masked dance-dramas.

Halmi, a character that symbolizes an old and infertile woman, is the wife of Yeonggam (old man) in traditional masked dance-dramas. She ends up dying from the trials of raising her children without the aid of her husband when he is away from home and domestic conflict with her husband's concubine.

Halmi (lit. old woman) is a very atypical character in masked dance-drama. She appears with her bare belly exposed, performing a bold bottom swaying dance. She urinates at the performance space and expresses strong sexual desire, which does not match her age. In the end, Halmi dies as the result of Yeonggam's mistreatment and conflict with her husband's concubine. Depending on region, Halmi is called by different names: Miyalhalmi (Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, and Eunyul Talchum), Sinhalmi (Songpa Sandaenori), Keuneomi (Goseong Ogwangdae), Keuni (Gimhae Ogwangdae), Nochinne (*deotboegi* performed by *namsadang* and Bukcheong Sajanori).

The episode featuring Halmi and Yeonggam can be found in masked dance-dramas (*gamyeonggeuk*) performed across the nation, except in Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonggeuk and Yecheon Cheongdan noreum. Halmi and Yeonggam are an old couple. However, when Yeonggam's concubine appears, the old couple and the concubine get involved in conflict and confrontation, which in turn brings family issues into focus.

Most scholars view conflict between the wife and concubine and oppression of women under male tyranny and the concubine system as major themes of acts featuring Halmi. However, the focus of the discussion varies slightly among scholars. Jo Dongil and Chae Huiwan have explained the status of Halmi and the concubine focusing on woman's reproductive capability, which they cited as the reason for Yeonggam's oppression of Halmi. Jeong Sangbak paid attention to men's immorality and the scope of the resulting damage. In other words, he concluded that the Halmi act humorously represents the prodigal nature and

tyranny of men and criticism of men's immoral lifestyle. Im Jaehae, focusing on groups that have transmitted masked dance-dramas, concluded that *gamyengeuk* which are based in Confucian society, show male chauvinistic views, whereas *gut nori*, based in shamanic society, shows female chauvinistic views. Park Jintae categorized types of Halmi according to recordings of masked dance-drama: old goddess of *samsindang* (shrine for the goddess of childbirth), victim of male tyranny and oppression in a patriarchal society, a character who wins household succession and inheritance rights, taking advantage of her son, and a young and energetic free-spirited concubine.

In general, Halmi in Korean masked dance-drama is depicted as a female deity who is the main agent of reproduction, the subject of oppression in a patriarchal society, or a character who resists the real world.

First, as a female deity, Halmi originated from the divinity in charge of production but as social changes were reflected in the performance this aspect of Halmi was weakened. Halmi as a divine being can be found in Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori, where Yeonggam does not appear. Instead, the image of Halmi as the main agent of production and her attempt to recover her productive capability are mostly brought to the fore. In general, in *ogwangdae* performed in Gyeongsang-do Province or *yaryu* in Busan, Halmi urinates and expresses her strong sexual desire for Yeonggam. Here women's urination is not just an act of excretion but the act of childbirth and reproduction, and is also an imitative magic ritual that functions as expression of prayers for rain and proliferation. The sexual relationship between Halmi and Yeonggam originates in the divine union that brings abundance. As such a union became secularized, the image of Halmi as the deity of reproduction gradually weakened.

Second, Halmi is depicted as the victim of persecution under a patriarchal system. Generally, acts related to Halmi and Yeonggam are centered on the "union and separation" of the old couple. After they part from each other and are reunited, conflict breaks out, which ultimately leads to Halmi's death. After her death, Yeonggam seems to offer a gesture of reconciliation, but it is temporary, and on the surface Halmi's death gives the story a tragic ending. A similar plot is found in Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Songpa Sandaenori, Haeju Talchum, and *deotbaegi*, a form of masked dance-drama performed by male itinerant entertainers. Meanwhile, the usual development of the story featuring the old couple is that Yeonggam's concubine stands between Halmi and Yeonggam, which becomes the source of conflict between the two women. Looking at the ending, in the



Miyalhalmi (Bongsan Talchum) | 2012 | National Folk Museum of Korea



Yeonggam and Halmi's dance (Eunyul Talchum) | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

majority of cases, the rise of family conflict leads to Halmi's death. In masked dance-dramas performed in Hwanghae-do Province, Halmi runs away from home before dying. Conflict between wife and concubine is settled through reconciliation after the main character's death. However, such family trouble leads to the tragic end of leaving home and death. This is because women were regarded as the object of persecution in male-dominated society.

Third, Halmi is a character who challenges the existing social order. In general, the conflict between Halmi and Yeonggam ends with Halmi's death, yet sometimes the conflict ends with Yeonggam's death. In Gangnyeong Talchum, Halmi demands her share of the family assets and leaves home. Meanwhile, in Tongyeong Ogwangdae, which has been passed down in Gyeongsang-do Province, Yeonggam's concubine has an affair, which upsets the old nobleman but he easily forgives her. Yeonggam's pardon of his concubine's infidelity signifies the relative weakening of paternal authority.

In masked dance-drama, Halmi is portrayed as a deviant character who commits many unconventional acts. These include exposure of her bare stomach, performing a bottom swaying dance, expressing strong sexual desire rare for her age, urination in the open, conflict with Yeonggam and his concubine that leads to her death, and a funeral rite.

First, Halmi's exposure of her bare stomach, bottom swaying dance, and expression of strong sexual desire after her reunion with her husband, Yeonggam, all represent Halmi's strong aspiration to restore reproductive capability and youth. This act of exposing her bare stomach is commonly found in all types of masked dance-drama performed nationwide, except in *sandaenori*.

It is inevitable for the stomach to be exposed during childbirth or child-rearing or while doing housework. Halmi's exposure of the stomach can also be interpreted as the reflection of costume trends in the latter half of the Joseon Dynasty, when jackets worn by women in the lower classes became shorter. However, in *gamyongeuk*, Halmi's act of showing her bare stomach is abnormal, habitual, and intentional. The skin on her stomach is loose and stretched after repeated childbirth and baring it can not be a means of luring the opposite sex and showing off sexual appeal. In this sense, Halmi's behavior is rather preposterous. Given that Halmi has already lost sexual ability, her behavior displays a strong desire to recover youth and sexual power. Therefore, in masked dance performances Halmi's deviant deeds serve to highlight her character. Her sexually deviant acts and subsequent death increase dramatic interest for the audience,

rather than evoking sympathy and a sense of tragedy, thus helping them to accept death as a fact of life.

Second, Halmi's urination is not just an act of relieving herself but related to woman's strong reproductive capability. This act of urinating is extensively found in *gamyongeuk* across the country, excluding some parts. It is hard to view a woman actors' act of urinating during a performance as the usual act of excretion. Such behavior cannot be interpreted in terms of discharging wastes from the body or enticing men by exposing secret parts of the body. The essential meaning of urination can be clarified through fables related to urinating in dreams, the urination of *seongmosansin*²⁴ of Mt. Jirisan, and the act of excretion conducted during *byeolsingut* currently performed in coastal areas. Fables related to dreams of a woman urinating include a story in which the two sisters of the Silla general Kim Yushin, named Munhui and Bohui, bought and sold a urination dream; Jin buying a urination dream from the first half of the Goryeo Dynasty; and a maiden from Iksan, Jeolla-do Province buying a urination dream. In such urination dreams, a great amount of urine is discharged, and the women meet the perfect partners, which allows them to rise in social status and become queen. In this sense, women's act of excretion symbolizes strong reproductive capability and abundance. As the nature of Halmi as a reproductive deity or major agent of reproduction weakened in later generations, women's urination in masked dance-dramas has been interpreted as expression of women's desire to regain lost youth in response to their decreasing productive capabilities. Therefore, on the surface, women's urination is mistaken for the uncivilized and unconscious act of excretion, or occasionally as a means of luring the opposite sex.

Third, the death of Halmi is not a tragic event but a sacrifice for community integration and a collective purification ritual. Halmi suffers persecution under a patriarchal, male-centered society and ends up dying. However, Halmi's death is not regarded as a tragedy, but as a rite of passage in life and thus the extension of life. It is a rite of passage that takes place among the groups that perform masked dance-dramas or communities that enjoy such performances. It serves as a learning experience of death and functions to appease Halmi's soul. In addition, Halmi's death acts as a rite for collective purification to console individual sorrow and resentment that the general populace experience in their daily lives. During this purification process, Yeonggam and Halmi are temporarily reconciled, estranged family relationships are restored through a posthumous reunion with children, and restoration of the community is achieved through a collective

funeral rite or *gut* (shaman rite).

Halmi wears an orange mask in Songpa Sandaenori, Dongnae Yaryu, Gasan Ogwangdae, and *deotboegi* performed by male itinerant entertainers a pink mask in Suyeong Yaryu, and a navy blue mask in Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, Eunul Talchum, Goseong Ogwangdae, and Toegyewon Sandaenori.

In some masked dance-dramas, Halmi's physical abnormality is brought into focus. For example, in Suyeong Yaryu, her nose and mouth are severely crooked; in Yangju Byeolsandaenori and *deotboegi*, Halmi's nose and mouth are slightly deformed. In Dongnae Yaryu, Halmi's mouth is turned and she has a cleft lip. Particularly, in Yangju Byeolsandae and Suyeong Yaryu, Halmi looks as if she has suffered the hardships of life.

Halmi's costume mostly consists of a white jacket and skirt with her bare stomach exposed. She wears her hair in a chignon and carries a cane and a fan. However, in Bongsan Talchum, Halmi appears holding a bell, and in Gangnyeong Talchum she wears a bell tied to her waist, which is regarded as the remnant of her status as a shaman.

In masked dance-drama, Halmi is a character who is subject to persecution in traditional male-dominated society. However, given that in Korea goddesses outnumber gods, and considering the generalized symbolism of urination, and Halmi's strong desire to restore her lost reproductive capability, Halmi has the inherent qualities of a female deity and major agent of reproduction. However, as society has changed over time, Halmi has been belittled as an object of social persecution due to loss of reproductive ability. For this reason, Halmi is depicted as an unconventional and deviant character.

Hong Dongji

홍동지

Key character in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.

One of the main characters in the traditional puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum. Hong Dongji is the protagonist of the Isimi act, in which he eliminates the snake-shaped monster called Isimi.

Among the characters that appear in Kkokdugaksinoreum, Hong Dongji (Kor. 홍동지, Chin. 洪同知) is a puppet actor who most frequently appears in various acts. This character has an impressive look and a great presence in the traditional puppet show. In the Isimi act, Hong Dongji drives away the snake-shaped monster, which the villagers find terrifying.

Nephew of Park Cheomji, Hong Dongji is always naked and his whole body is red. During the Joseon Dynasty, *dongji* (Kor. 동지, Chin. 同知) was the term for a lower-level government official of junior second rank, called *dongji jungchubusa* (Kor. 동지중추부사, Chin. 同知中樞府事). However, in later generations, *dongji* was only used as an honorific term. In Kkokdugaksinoreum, Hong Dongji is a powerful savior who addresses problems with the neighbors. At the same

time, he is also portrayed as a sometimes rude, critical, and rash male figure. Since he is always naked, the character was likened to *hong* (紅) literally meaning “red,” which led to the name Hong Dongji. The whole body of the puppet (80 cm long from the top of the head to the handle, face 22 cm wide) is not covered with any clothes. Eyes, mouth, and beard are painted on his face. The character has an oval face (27 cm from the top to the neck) and the shoulders are wider than the face. The lips and both arms can move. A big penis is hung at the groin. There is a saying that “If a man has a strong flow of urine, he has good stamina,” and sometimes when Hong Dongji urinates, a strong stream of his urine is directed at the audience. The flowing urine is made possible by the *daejabi* (puppeteer) who releases water held in his mouth through a rubber



Hong Dongji (Kkokdugaksinoreum)
National Folk Museum of Korea

tube connected to the puppet. Hong Dongji also breaks wind at times.

As a mythical character with supernatural power, Hong Dongji has universality. As a naked figure with super strength, he is a troubleshooter who can solve problems under any circumstances. Hong Dongji does things others have failed to do: eliminates Isimi and Yeongno, which have harassed the villagers, punishes a group of Jorijung who corrupt public morals, and paves the way for the parade of Pyeongangamsa (Governor of Pyeongan-do Province) and acts as a hunter in falcon hunting. Meanwhile, Hong Dongji acts as at *sangdukkun* (bier bearer) at Pyeongangamsa's funeral, a jeering and lampooning the corrupt and inept governor. As such, Hong Dongji, as quite a realistic and humane character, has a great presence, adding zest to the puppet show.



Hong Dongji (Seosan Parkcheomji nori)
National Folk Museum of Korea

Malttugi

말뚝이

Servant of the noblemen appearing in *bonsandaenori* performances.

Servant of the Yangban (nobleman), a character who appears in *bonsandaenori* masked dance-dramas.

Malttugi, originally the Yangban's servant who tends to horses, is a character that appears in Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, Eunyul Talchum, Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Songpa Sandaenori, Toegyewon Sandaenori, Suyeong Yaryu, Dongnae Yaryu, Tongyeong Ogwangdae, Goseong Ogwangdae, Gasan Ogwangdae, Jinju Ogwangdae, and *deotboegi* dance performed by troupes of male

itinerant entertainers called *namsadangpae*.

Today, although there are slight variations in the character's mask, costume, dance movements, and the content of the performances of different masked dance-dramas (*gamyongeuk*), Malttugi is a character who is actively involved in lampooning the *yangban* nobility. He is a servant of the Yangban, but he ridicules his master and bitterly satirizes the ruling class of the time, disclosing their dark side.

Malttugi also reflects signs of exchange among local communities. Gangnyeong Talchum performed in the Haeseo region shares similarities with *ogwangdae* from the Gyeongsangnam-do region. The way the three Yangban brothers appear first, talk about the essence of the ruling class, then call Malttugi, who subsequently comes out and makes jokes, is similar to *ogwangdae* performed in Gyeongsang-do Province. It has been widely known that Haeseo Talchum, masked dance-dramas from the Hwanghae-do region in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula, maintained exchange with *sandaenori* performed in the central part of the country. However, it is also noted that Haeseo Talchum is similar to *ogwangdae*, a type of a masked dance-drama passed down in the southern parts of the country, in terms of content and style.

It is also a noteworthy that Malttugi's travelogue, in which he names all the places he has visited, is performed in various masked dance-dramas derived from *sandaenori*. Masked dance-dramas derived from *bonsandaenori* including Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Suyeong Yaryu, and Tongyeong Ogwangdae all feature Malttugi's travelogue. Eunul Talchum also contains the same episode, but with a slight difference as the travelogue of the first depraved monk (Meokjung) is added.

Yaryu and *ogwangdae* performed in the southern part of Korea have developed with originality and regionality distinct from Haeseo Talchum and *sandaenori*. Malttugi is of great importance in these performances, to the extent that they are considered to be Malttugi's play. *Yaryu* and *ogwangdae* often feature abnormally large Malttugi and Yangban masks, which emphasize the deformities of the characters. The unusually large Malttugi mask seems to reflect a symbolic ritual to ward off evil spirits, as in *narye* (year-end exorcism rites held at court). By the same token, the nose of Malttugi made in the shape of man's sexual organ, is exceptionally big. However, *ogwangdae*, though performed in the southern part of the country, differs in different areas. In comparison with other *ogwangdae* and *yaryu*, in Goseong Ogwangdae Malttugi has relatively few

lines to speak and the appearance of the Yangban is less strange. As such, the Malttugi character clearly reflects formal universality and originality, regional distinctiveness, and genre specificity of Korean masked dance-dramas in various aspects, including the shape of Malttugi's mask, ways of performing the drama, and the content of the character's lines. In addition, Malttugi is also significant in that the character helps us to understand how Korean masked daance-dramas have influenced each other under mutual exchange.

Manseokjung

만석중

Monk who is the main character in Manseokjung nori.

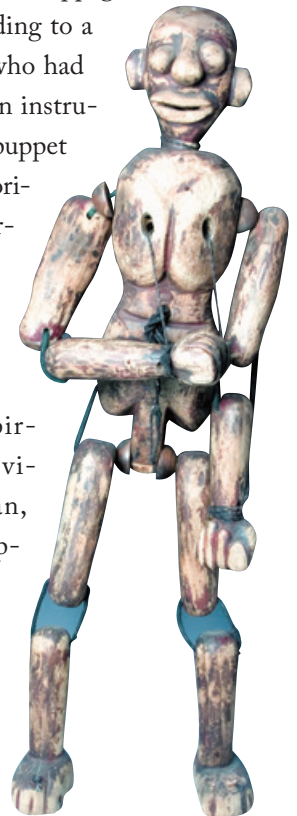
Buddhist monk puppet, the main character in the Buddhist puppet play Manseokjung nori.

Manseokjung, or Monk Manseok, is valuable material in masked dance-drama as the monk puppet is not a rod puppet called *jangdugoeroe* (Kor. 장두괴뢰, Chin. 杖頭傀儡, lit. puppet manipulated by wooden rods), but a string puppet called *byeonsagoeroe* (Kor. 현사괴뢰, Chin. 縣絲傀儡, lit. puppet controlled by strings, or marionette). Rod puppets like those used in Kkokdugaksinoreum have faces carved in the upper part of wooden rods and are dressed in clothes and are puppeteers control them by holding the bottom of the rods. Meanwhile, string puppets are made so that each body part can be moved by connecting each body part of the puppet with strings. The puppet for Park Cheomji, the main character in Kkokdugaksinoreum, is an old man's face carved into a 76 cm-long pine rod and painted. The hair and beard is attached using the tail fur of a white dog or a white rabbit's fur; the lower jaw and both arms are made to move separately. The Hong Dongji puppet is made of a 60cm-long pine rod onto which Hong Dongji's face is carved, and the entire wooden rod is colored red. This puppet

wears a topknot and his penis is exposed and both arms are made to move separately. Although the movements of rod puppets look unnatural and rigid, unlike the fluid movements of string puppets, they have the advantage in being easy and simple to make and control. Meanwhile, Isimi, a snake that failed to become a dragon, is a cloth bag puppet, known as a hand puppet or glove puppet, whose body is made of fabric so that the puppeteer's hand can fit into it like a glove; using the thumb and other four fingers, the puppeteer can manipulate the puppet by opening and closing its mouth. In *byeolsingut* performed in Mokgyemaeul, Chungju, Chungcheongbuk-do Province, a *geollip* (fundraising or begging performance) was carried out in the form of a street parade headed by a puppet called Mappagi. To make Mappagi, the head is carved into a piece of wood; its body and arms and legs are made then the puppet is dressed. There is a hole in Mappagi's head through which the puppet's arms and feet are connected with strings. By pulling these strings, the puppeteer makes the puppet hit its forehead, which is Mappagi's signature gesture.

Considering the similarities in the production and movements of these puppets, it can be assumed that Mappagi was influenced by Manseokjung and became a puppet that carries ritual significance in rural communities. Because Mappagi slaps his own forehead, the puppet is also called Jemeori Mappagi, a name that reflects belittling of the Mappagi character. According to a story on its origin, after the death of a fool named Choedori, who had followed a *pungmulpae* (a group that plays traditional percussion instruments) procession while hitting his own forehead, the Mappagi puppet was created and named Choedori Mappagi in his memory. This origin story is based on the public perception of Mappagi as a character who behaves foolishly. Mappagi, who performed a dance to expel evil spirits and invite good luck at the head of a *pungmul* troupe procession, lost its religious meaning and ritual function and has degenerated into a ludicrous spectacle.

The public belief that Mappagi could ward off evil spirits and bring good luck is supported by circumstantial evidence that a group of *ogwangdae* active in Bammari, Ulsan, Gyeongsang-do Province carried out *geollip* featuring a puppet called Ulsan Seonang Gaksi. In other words, a shrine called *sadang* (Kor. 사당, Chin. 祠堂) is made with a small wooden box decorated with strips of cloth in five colors.



Manseokjung puppet
National Folk Museum of Korea

A Gaksi (bride) puppet with hair done up in a chignon is placed inside. Performers carry this wooden box placed on a pole and go from door to door, and saying that the tutelary deity of Ulsan (Ulsangseonang) has descended they cried out, “Madam, we beg of you. Here comes Ulsanseonang. Please, make a donation to the tutelary deity of Ulsan.” In response, the owner of the house would give the performers money or rice, or hang a piece of cloth to the pole. It was believed that donating money and rice would prevent bad luck or misfortune. Offering a piece of white cloth would ensure that daughters were good at sewing and red thread would guarantee the children’s longevity. This community ritual was designed to prevent crises and pray for longevity and happiness by making offerings to the tutelary deity of Ulsan. Similarly, in *byeolsingut* performed in Hahoe Village in Andong, Gyeongsang-do Province, performers wear masks instead of carrying the Seonang Gaksi puppet, while dancing *mudongchum* and carrying out *geollip*. In Mokgye village, *geollip* was carried out while making fun of the puppet Mappagi. Such a performance can be considered similar to the Seonang Gaksi puppet play or Seonang Gaksi Talnori.

Meokjung

먹중

Depraved monk appearing in masked dance-dramas.

A depraved monk who leads a vulgar life although he is a Buddhist monk and ridicules his teacher, Nojang.

Meokjung introduces himself as a Buddhist monk, but his speech and behavior is vulgar. In addition, he enjoys singing and dancing and seduces women while playing the *beopgo* (Buddhist drum). And when Meokjung finds out the identity of Nojang (old monk), he makes fun of him by likening him to an animal or an object. Such features of the character represent the secularization process

of Buddhism during the late Joseon Dynasty, and Meokjung can be viewed as a somewhat deviant character. Since eight depraved monks generally appear, together they are called Palmeokjung, *pal* meaning “eight.”

In terms of the masks and clothes worn by Meokjung, the monk's mask in Yangju Byeolsandae is colored red overall, and Meokjung, Omjung, and Wanbo, along with other corrupt monks, all wear the Buddhist monk's robe (*jangsam*) made of arrowroot cloth, with a dragon insignia. In Songpa Sandaenori Meokjung wears a mask that is painted brown and is dressed in a short monastic robe in green, blue, yellow with a white peaked hat called *gokkal* and a colored sash. In Gangnyeong Talchum, Meokjung wears a slightly tough-looking mask colored orange, with a female monk's hat (*songnak*), a monastic robe made of arrowroot cloth and a long, red kasaya robe over it. In Bongsan Talchum, the character's mask is colored orange and has seven large red bumps all over the face. In general, the mask is demon-faced in appearance. Meokjung wears *wondong*, a type of traditional overcoat with long sleeve extensions attached (the eight monks wear coats in red, orange, green, and blue, respectively), along with a silk *deogeure* (short military coat) and holds a willow strip in his hand.



Meokjung (Gangnyeong Talchum) | Gangnam-gu in Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

In short, Meokjung in various masked dance-dramas (*gamyongeuk*) wears a demon-faced mask (Bongsan Talchum and Gangnyeong Talchum), *songnak* (Gangnyeong Talchum), monastic robe made of arrowroot hemp (Gangnyeong Talchum and Yangju Byeolsandaenori), four-colored, short monk's robe (Songpa Sandaenori), silk *deogeure* (Bongsan Talchum), and robe with dragon design (Yangju Byeolsandaenori) and carries a willow branch (Bongsan Talchum). Meokjung's mask is colored red overall and has two to seven bumps on the face. In addition, the depraved monk character wears a monastic robe in almost all traditional *gamyongeuk*, except Bongsan Talchum, and in Haeseo Talchum, he wears a demon-faced mask.

Namgangnoin

남강노인

Elderly deity who appears in Bongsan Talchum and Gangnyeong Talchum.

The god of life is a character who appears in the masked dance performances Bongsan Talchum and Gangnyeong Talchum. Namgangnoin (Kor. 남강노인, Chin. 南江老人, lit. Old Man of the South Pole) comforts the soul of Miyalhalmi, who dies after being mistreated by her husband, Yeonggam.

Namgangnoin, also called Sunoin, is the deification of Canopus, a brilliant star in the southern constellation of Carina, the star controls said to control the life span of mortals. In ancient Chinese mythology, the Old Man of the South Pole was worshiped as one of the Three Stars (Sanxing, 三星) that symbolize longevity, happiness, and status: the star of happiness (Fuxing, 福星), the star of status (Luxing, 祿星), and the star of longevity (Shouxing, 壽星). The poem "On the Observation of an Exorcism Rite," composed by Yi Saek (1328-1396), a Neo-Confucian scholar and statesman of the Goryeo Dynasty, contains an account of such a figure: "One of the old men is tall and has a crooked back; many people



Namgangnoin Masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

who saw him wonder whether he is the Old Man of the South Pole [其中老者 偁而長，衆共驚嗟南極星].”The Old Man of the South Pole is not seen during war or when a nation is entangled in chaos, but only appears when things return to normal and peace prevails. Accordingly, people prayed for happiness and longevity when looking up at the star of longevity.

In Bongsan Talchum, Namgangnoin appears in the seventh act, following the death of Miyalhalmi. The Namgangnoin mask is white with a white beard, eyes framed by black lines, and two wrinkles on the forehead. This character appears during the performance wearing a long, white coat and trousers, and a traditional black formal hat (*gat*) while shouldering a *janggu* (hourglass-shaped drum). Miyalhalmi comes to meet Yeonggam, her husband, from whom she was parted during war. However, Miyalhalmi fights over Yeonggam’s love and wealth with his concubine, Deolmeorijip, whom Yeonggam brought home. When Miyalhalmi is beaten to death by her husband, Namgangnoin appears and calls in a shaman to hold *jinogigut* (rite to send the soul to the next world) to comfort Miyalhalmi’s soul.

In Gangnyeong Talchum, Namgangnoin appears in the seventh act, Miyalyeonggam and Halmichum. When Miyalhalmi’s husband brings home his

concubine, Deolmeorijip, the concubine greets her rudely and the two start to fight. Because of this, Yeonggam and Halmi quarrel. Feeling despondent as she sighs over her miserable situation, Halmi demands that her husband share his property with her. When her husband refuses, Miyalhalmi gives up everything and leaves home. After Miyalhalmi leaves, Yeonggam and Deolmeorijip begin to dance, facing each other. Then, Deolmeorijip collapses. Something is also wrong with Yeonggam, and he ends up disabled. At this moment, Namgangnoin shows up and declares the death of Halmi and reads her will. Then Yeonggam weeps sadly and calls in a female shaman to hold *mansebajigut*, a rite to send the spirit of the dead to the afterlife. Namgangnoin as featured in Gangnyeong Talchum shows up in a white overcoat holding a long tobacco pipe. He acts as an elder of the village. His white mask is long with an exaggerated forehead, which accounts for half of the entire face. The dark wrinkles on his forehead are in the form of running script; above the wrinkles is a brown circle and above that the Chinese character “上” (*sang*), meaning “top.”

Representing longevity and primitive human desire, the character Namgangnoin has long been worshipped not only in Korea but also in China and Japan. However, unlike other Taoist immortals, who enjoyed eternal life, he is not viewed as a being who actually existed. This view of Namgangnoin is rooted in the worship of *seongsu* (Kor. 성수, Chin. 星宿), literally meaning “constellation,” and he is regarded as being a deity rather than an immortal. Therefore, Taoist immortals were the objects of admiration among ordinary people, while Namgangnoin, who controls the human life span, was a practical and specific figure to whom individuals could pray for longevity. In this sense, no other Taoist deity was more widely worshiped by and familiar among the ordinary people than Namgangnoin. As a familiar figure among Koreans, the Old Man of the South Pole appears in *gamyongeuk*, or masked dance-dramas, to comfort the spirit of Miyalhalmi, praying for the easy passage of the deceased into eternity, and thereby resolves conflict among all the characters in the drama.

Nojang

노장

Old Buddhist monk who becomes an apostate.

As one of the characters that appears in Korea's masked dance-dramas, Nojang (Kor. 노장, lit. old monk) is the general term for all Buddhist monks who have followed the teachings of Buddhism for a long time but ended up becoming apostates.

In Buddhism, old and virtuous monks who have long followed the teachings of Buddha are referred to as Nojang. However, the Nojang who appears in Korea's masked dance-dramas is generally a character who breaks his Buddhist vows and apostatizes, and ends up leading a secular life. This figure is called by different names in different masked dance-dramas: Nojang in Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Songpa Sandaenori, Toegyewon Sandaenori, and Bongsan Talchum; Noseung (old monk) in Gangnyeong Talchum and Eunyul Talchum; Jung (monk) in Goseong Ogwangdae; Junggwangdae (masked monk) in Hahoe Byeolsingut; and Jung or Nojang in Gasan Ogwangdae and Jinju Ogwangdae. In the *deotboegi* performance carried out by troupes of male itinerant entertainers called *nam-sadangpae*, a figure called Meokjung is equivalent to Nojang in masked dance-dramas. Bukcheong Sajanori (Bukcheong Lion Play) also features a monk character called Daesa (Kor. 대사. Chin. 大師. lit. great monk). However, given that the Daesa in Bukcheong Sajanori chants Buddhist sutras and prays for the reincarnation of the dead, he is considered a different character from Nojang who appears in other masked dance-dramas.

Nojang is called by different names in different masked dance-dramas: Nojang, Noseung, Jung, Meokjung, and Junggwangdae. Despite the differences in name, the roles and behavior of these monk characters are similar in that they are old monks who have followed the Buddhist teachings for many years but later end up depraved, leading a vulgar life. In Korean masked dance-dramas, the hypocrisy of Nojang is satirically represented by the old monk's dance and movements.

However, the point at which Nojang appears varies slightly in each masked

dance-drama. The presence of Nojang is relatively minor in *ogwangdae* performed in the southern part of the country. In *ogwangdae* performances the process of Nojang becoming an apostate monk is simplified, focusing only on the old monk's ideological hypocrisy. In Gasan Ogwangdae and Jinju Ogwangdae, the depraved old monk is disciplined, however, this has its limitations as such discipline is imposed in accordance with Confucian hierarchical views of society. In contrast, Nojang has a salient presence in masked dance-drama performances performed in the Haeseo region and *sandaenori* performed in Seoul and the vicinity. In the masked dance-dramas of these regions, Nojang appears with other characters including several Meokjung, Somu, a shoe seller, and Chwibari, who in turn, add depth and structure to the story. These masked dance-dramas are characterized by their satire of Nojang, the representation of ideological hypocrisy, and feature a secular and pragmatic character called Chwibari, who replaces the depraved old monk.



Old Monk preening (Bongsan Talchum) | National Theater of Korea in Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

Park Cheomji

박첨지

Key character in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.

A key character who appears in the traditional puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum

Park Cheomji appears all acts of the traditional puppet show Kkokdugaksinoreum. In particular, the act where Park Cheomji appears as the protagonist is that featuring Park Cheomji's travels. He acts various parts of the puppet show and also serves as a narrator. His great presence in the entire performance is the reason why Kkokdugaksinoreum is also known as Parkcheomji norem.

“Park” is the family name and also expresses scorn for the character as something as common as a *bak*, or *bagaji*, which refers to a gourd. “Cheomji,” as a shortened form of the military officer's rank *cheomji jungchubusa*, a senior third grade official (*dangsanggwon*) that belonged to Jungchubu, or the office of government officials without portfolio. Since those with the public office of senior third grade or senior second grade were called *yeonggam* (Kor. 영감, Chin. 令監, lit. superintendent) or *yeonggong* (Kor. 영공, Chin. 令公), Park Cheomji was addressed as *yeonggam*. After generations, however, *cheomji* (Kor. 첨지, Chin. 僉知) became an honorific term generally used to address old men.

The Park Cheomji puppet is composed of a long wooden stick (one meter long including the handle) for the body, an unusually big face (30 cm from the top of the head to the neck and 22 cm wide) with white hair and beard attached. There is a string attached to the lower jaw and an elastic band fixed inside, so the string is pulled to make the mouth open so that puppet appears to be speaking. The puppet has broad shoulders (35 cm wide) and both arms are made to move. Park Cheomji wears a white jacket with long sleeves and trousers.

By looking at the scenes in which Park Cheomji appears included in varied recordings of Kkokdugaksinoreum, the character's function and role can be identified as follows:

In the recording created by Kim Jaecheol, Park Cheomji acts as a wandering old man in an acrobatics troupe in the first act, the uncle of several *somudang*

(young shamans) in the final part of the second act, the uncle of Hong Dongji at Choi Yeongno's place in the third act, and village head in the fifth act featuring Pyosaengwon (classics licentiate Pyo), uncle of Hong Dongji at the funeral of Pyeongangamsa (Governor of Pyeongan-do Province) in the seventh act, and narrator in the eighth act featuring the construction of a temple.

In the recording created by Choi Sangsu, Park Cheomji plays the part of Kkokdugaksi's husband in the third act, the adversary of Yeongno (monster) in the fifth act, and narrator in the sixth act where the Pyeongan-do Province governor goes pheasant hunting.

In the recording created by Kim U, Park Cheomji appears in a role counter to Samcheongapja (Dongbangsak) in the third act, narrator in the fourth act of Janganhwalja (local roughneck), the counter role of Pyeongangamsa in the fifth act, narrator in the sixth act featuring Park Cheomji's daughter, counter role of the Pyeongan-do Province governor's son in the eighth act, and narrator in the ninth act featuring the family dance performance, and in the tenth act of temple construction.

In the recording created by Park Heonbong, Park Cheomji functions as a narrator in the seventh act featuring Pyosaengwon and in the recording created by Lee Duhyeon, Park Cheomji plays opposite to little Park Cheomji in the fifth act. Since Park Cheomji has diverse personalities, he is viewed as a changeable and highly unpredictable character from the perspective of general drama principles. However, his many-sided personality can be regarded as a device to add entertaining elements to the traditional puppet show. Taking the general features of the puppet into account, a playful and cheerful personality is better suited to the show than a serious and consistent personality. In short, Park Cheomji is a frivolous and buffoonish character.

“Namseong gwanhuija,” the title of a poem composed by Kang Icheon (姜彝天) of the Joseon period after watching a puppet show and masked dance-drama features a character similar to Park Cheomji, described as follows: “A fellow with a broad face suddenly appears and shouts out loud, which frightens the spectators [突出面如盤 大聲令人怖].” In records studied by the Korean folklorist Song Seokha, as well as the recording of Gupabal Parkcheomji nori by the Japanese writer Mitamura Engyo (三田村鳶魚) during the period of Japanese colonial rule also feature the Park Cheomji character. Such materials show the rich diversity of Park Cheomji. His personality traits and folksy style help enhance communication with the audience; and whenever his personality changes, his strange and flippant ways are well described by the movements of the puppet.

Pijori

피조리

**Name of novice monks or nieces of Park Cheomji
in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.**

A figurative term that refers to two novice Buddhist monks called Sangjwa, or two nieces of Park Cheomji called Somudang, who are characters in Kkokdugaksinoreum, a traditional Korean puppet play.

The novice monk puppets have a white face and wear a white peaked hat called *gokkal*. They are dressed in a black sack with a red Buddhist robe on top, and in a gray sack with a green robe on top, respectively. The puppet's body (13 cm in length with a face 8 cm wide) is covered with the novice monk's costume and the neck and hands are attached. The puppeteer's fingers are stuck into a hole in the middle of the neck to manipulate the puppet, producing delicate and detailed movements. The puppet of the niece has red lips and wears rouge on the cheeks and the forehead. She wears her hair in three braids with ribbons and a blue jacket and red skirt. The daughter-in-law puppet wears a chignon, the hairstyle of a married woman, and a yellow jacket and red skirt. The bodies of these two puppets (50 cm long from the tip of the head to the handle, face 14 cm wide) are small but gracefully adorned to emphasize their femininity. Their shoulders are wider than their faces and their two arms can make movements.

The behavior of the Pijori is emphasized to warn against the depravity of Buddhist monks. Among the disciples of a master monk, Sangjwa refers to a novice monk who is the heir to the master. That two novice monks at a temple are both womanizers exemplifies the worrisome future of Buddhism. They have intimate relationships with a lot of women and even fight over Somudang, showing the height of moral decadence.

Although the two women are harshly criticized by Park Cheomji for having an affair with the two novice monks, in the following Isimi act, they appear as female entertainers (*gisaeng*), which highlights the social issue of women runaways during the 1920s. Under one theory Pijori is viewed as a woman sym-



Pijori | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

bolic of the conflict between divinity and secularity in ancient myths. However, looking at the structure of Kkokdugaksinoreum, it becomes evident that Pijori merely stands for a “trivial Buddhist monk.” The people of Joseon boycotted Buddhism on one hand but were strongly drawn to Buddhism on the other. Therefore, satire of Pijori in the puppet play can be viewed as a kind of a warning regarding life.

Podobujang

포도부장

Young policeman who clashes with the feeble old scholar Saennim over a woman.

Young policeman, a character who appears in the act of the feeble scholar Saennim. Podobujang is a physically strong young man who clashes with Saennim as he flirts with Somu, Saennim's young concubine.

Podobujang appears in Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Songpa Sandaenori, and Toegyewon Sandaenori to seduce Somu, Saennim's concubine.

In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Saennim walks along in wobbly steps with his young concubine Somu. Then suddenly, Podobujang, young and strong, appears and comes between the couple. Saennim tries to give Somu valuable things to keep her from leaving him. However, she loses her heart to the young man. Saennim approaches Podobujang when he is dancing with Somu to drive the policeman away. However, Somu deserts Saennim, walks up to Podobujang and dances with him. Saennim is forced to give up Somu and cries bitterly.

Originally, the term *podubujang* refers to a military officer of the junior sixth rank in charge of defending the capital city. Podobujang who appears in masked dance-drama is a man of great power and tenacity who steals the love of Somu, Saennim's concubine. Taking into account the time setting of masked dance-dramas, when military officers were treated with contempt compared to civil officials, Podobujang represents a strong and sexually attractive young man, whereas Saennim represents a feeble old man with no sexual appeal. Therefore, Podobujang, who is a powerful and positive figure of the new era, emerges as a figure who will replace Saennim, symbol of the old era. Jo Dongil, a Korean folklorist, suggests that Podobujang's triumph in his conflict with Saennim can be likened to summer winning over winter. He views the emergence of Podobujang as the reflection of popular consciousness in the urban masked dance-drama tradition, finding greater significance in this character than in Malttugi. However, it is hard to regard Podobujang as the main agent of attack against the noblemen, or *yangban*. Unlike Malttugi, who appears in masked dance-dramas



Podobujang (Songpa Sandaenori) | National Folk Museum of Korea

performed nationwide, Podobujang has geographical limitations since he appears only in *sandaenori* and is portrayed only as a strong young man with sexual allure who takes Somu away from Saennim.

Podobujang wears a white mask and *manggeon* (headband worn under the hat) with his mouth and jaw covered with a black mustache and beard. He is dressed in a white *durumagi* (coat) and *gat* (hat). In addition he is said to have carried a sword in the past.

Podobujang is a low-ranking military officer who, taking advantage of his sexual appeal, seduces Saennim's concubine Somu. In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Podobujang defeats Saennim in his clash with the old man, whereas in Songpa Sandaenori the same character gives Somu up after he surrenders to the power of Saennim.

Pyeongangamsa

평안감사

Governor of Pyeongan-do Province in the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.

The Governor of Pyeongan-do Province during the Joseon Dynasty, who appears in several acts of Kkokdugaksinoreum: governing act, falcon hunting act and bier bearing act.

Pyeongangamsa (Kor. 평안감사, Chin. 平安 監司, lit. governor of Pyeongan-do Province) who appears in Kkokdugaksinoreum is a high-ranking government official who habitually breaches rules and norms and shamelessly commits frivolous and immoral acts. Hong Dongji appears opposite to Pyeongangamsa.

The governor puppet is composed of a whole body (75 cm long, 17 cm wide), from the *manggeon*²⁵ worn on the head to the stick that forms the body of the puppet and is used as a handle. In terms of costume, the whole body is wrapped in black fabric. The left shoulder is bent slightly upwards to make a hole in it. A



Pyeonggangamsa (Seosan Parkcheomji nori)
National Folk Museum of Korea



Pyeonggangamsa (Kkokdugaksinoreum)
National Folk Museum of Korea

string was tied to the hole, which allowed the puppeteer to manipulate the puppet so that the falcon on the shoulder appeared to be flying. However as string puppets went into decline, a wooden falcon puppet began to be used during performances.

Just looking at the Governor of Pyeongan-do Province character, it is surprising that even in the Joseon period it was possible to express such bold ridicule and criticism of the ruling class in Kkokdugaksinoreum. Forgetting his duty as the head of the local government of Pyeongan-do Province, the governor commits irregularities all the time as if were a hobby and is always involved in immoral acts, like making an offering of dog meat at his mother's funeral. In addition, although he owes money to a falcon hunter, he does not pay him back. Instead, he shamelessly orders the hunter to offer him money by selling pheasants. Meanwhile, Hong Dongji constantly jeers at the governor who commits such atrocious acts. However, the governor fails to understand the meaning of Hong Dongji's jeering, which adds a strong satirical quality to the performance.

25. *Manggeon* is a men's hairband worn under a formal hat (*gat*) to keep it in place.

Saja

사자

Masked lion character.

Lion character that appears in Buddhist dances, royal court dances and folk plays. This character is represented in masked dance-dramas by an actor wearing a lion mask.

In Korea, Buddhist dance, court dance and folk dance feature a character called Saja (Kor. 사자, Chin. 獅子, lit. lion). In Buddhist dance, Saja appears in *giak*, a form of religious dance of Baekje, one of the ancient kingdoms of Korea.

The shape, production methods, and decoration of the lion masks that appear in Korean folk plays vary from region to region. The lion mask that appears in Bukcheong Sajanori has a red face and the mane and body fur are made with threads of five colors, which represent the five colors of the five directions (*obangsaek*). The part of the lion is generally played by two people: one controls the lion's head using both hands, and the other holds the waist of the person in front of him, thus forming the body of the lion. The mask of the lion appearing in Bongsan Talchum has a red face and its mane and body fur are made with white thread, while the lion's mask in Eunyu Talchum has an orange face and its mane and body fur are made of white strips of *hanji* (traditional mulberry paper). In Bongsan Talchum two performers play the role of the lion, and three performers in Eunyu Talchum. In Gangnyeong Talchum, the lion's face is a whitish color and two performers play the role of the lion. The lion mask of Hahoe Byeolsingut has an unrealistic face that is stylized and schematized. The lion is performed by one person only, the body covered with a yellow sack of hemp cloth, which is strikingly different from lion mask plays performed in other regions. Although Suyeong Yaryu also has three people performing the lion, as in Eunyu Talchum, the mask is made and realistically decorated with unique methods, and the lion's body fur is painted. In Tongyeong Ogwangdae, the lion's mane is realistically expressed, its body fur is painted on fabric, and three performers are needed to play the lion. The lion masks appearing in Suyeong Yaryu and Tongyeong Og-

wangdae are painted yellow, different from the masks of Bukcheong Sajanori and Bongsan Talchum, which are colored red to represent the expulsion of evil spirits. However, such changes are also detected in the lion masks appearing in Eunyul and Gangnyeong Talchum, which are colored orange and yellowish-white, respectively.

In form, the mask also changes from being realistic in the northern part of the country to become more stylized and schematized as they come south. In terms of color, in the northern part of the country the lion's mask is red, representing expulsion of evil spirits, and in southern areas dusty colors such as yellowish brown or reddish brown are used. The lion's fur has also changed in color from white, which has Buddhist meaning, to the five colors of the five directions which represent the color of expulsion of evil spirits, to the original lion's body color, which is yellowish brown.

The role of Saja in traditional lion mask plays can be outlined as follows: First, the lion in Baekje *giak* served the role of protecting the Buddhist dharma (Buddhist law). The lion in traditional five cardinal colors (*obangsaek*) enters following a handsome boy named Saja-a (lit. lion boy) and dances. During the dance performance, the lion opens its mouth wide three times, pretending to



Sajachum (lion dance) | National Theater of Korea in Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

feed on evil spirits that threaten the dharma, jumps high three times to inform the god of heaven and jumps low to inform the god of earth. In Bongsan Talchum, the lion attempts to punish a group of Meokjung (depraved monks) who lead Noseung (old monk) to apostasize but forgives and reconciles with them when the Meokjung regret their mistakes and become completely different people. Such developments in the story show that the lion dance performed in *giak* of Baekje became dramatized and entertaining. Second, Saja protects the authority of the throne, as in *sahomu* (lion and tiger dance) or *Sajachum* (lion dance) performed as part of court dance during the Joseon Dynasty. Third, as seen in Bukcheong Sajanori, Saja dances in an act of *byeoksajingyeong* (Kor. 벽사진경, Chin. 辟邪進慶, lit. dispel demons and welcome celebration) or *chukg-wichobok* (Kor. 축귀초복, Chin. 逐鬼招福, lit. drive away misfortune and promote good fortune). The lion dance performed in Hahoe Byeolsingut also amounts to a ritual dance that is designed to get rid of evil spirits, thus purifying the space where the masked dance performance is held. Fourth, as in Suyeong Yaryu, the lion turns into a mountain god that protects a specific region, a sign of the traditional performance being combined with folk religion, defeats the enemy, or preys on other animals. Fifth, in Tongyeong Ogwangdae, the lion's role of driving away evil spirits is reduced, while the image of a savage beast that preys on a sable is highlighted. Sixth, in Gasan Ogwangdae, Saja loses its identity and is absorbed into the character called Yeongno, an imaginary half-human half-animal creature.

Sanbaji

산발이

Actor in the puppet play Kkoukdugaksinoreum.

An actor in the puppet play Kkoukdugaksinoreum who performs outside the stage set, playing an instrument and exchanging jokes with the other actors.

Sanbaji is a compound of the words *sani* and *baji*. *Sani* was a term that referred to an acrobat or an entertainer.

In Kkokdugaksinoreum, the function and role of *sanbaji* can be easily inferred by closely looking at his position, or location, in the traditional puppet show. Today, the *sanbaji* that appears in Kkokdugaksinoreum handed down by male itinerant entertainers (*namsdangpae*) is seated at the front of the covered stage with the musicians. When the traditional puppet show begins, *daejebi*, the puppeteer, enters the covered stage to control the puppet actors and hence is cut off from the audience and cannot judge the audience response. It is the *sanbaji* who makes up for such shortcomings. As such the *sanbaji's* function and role in the performance is to aid the *daejebi* and lead the show effectively.

Taking into account the running time of the show, the role of the *sanbaji* is very important. Currently, *namsadangpae*-style Kkokdugaksinoreum runs for approximately one and half hours. In the past, however, it lasted six to ten hours. To perform for such long hours, the role of the *sanbaji*, who catches the spirit of the stage and responses from the audiences, is highly significant. Therefore, seated between the puppeteers and the audience, *sanbaji* leads the performance as go between between the stage and the audience.

In addition, *sanbaji* functions as one of the characters of the puppet play. Although he does not appear on stage during Kkokdugaksinoreum, most researchers recognize *sanbaji* as one of the characters of a traditional masked performance. That is because *sanbaji* constantly exchanges dialogue with other characters, helping the play proceed.

In Kkokdugaksinoreum, *sanbaji* functions as a musician as well as a jester. Sometimes the musicians actively engage in the performance and lead the story, as seen in *mudang gut nori* (rite performed by shamans) or in masked dance-drama. However, their role is minor in relation to the entire play, considering that their elimination from the show would not greatly affect the completeness of the show. On the other hand, *sanbaji* is a major character crucial to the development of the story in Kkokdugaksinoreum.

Sanbaji as a jester is indispensable to Kkokdugaksinoreum because of the genre characteristics of a puppet show. Kkokdugaksinoreum has inherited the prototype of ancient Asian puppets. Since puppets passed down for generations are mostly a combination of rod puppets and string puppets, they can only make simple, rough, and dynamic expressions characteristic of classic puppetry.

For this reason, the puppets appearing in Kkokdugaksinoreum are unable

to express subtle mental conflict between characters, which is a limitation of the genre, so the *sanbaji* character was developed to address this shortcoming. Witty remarks exchanged between *sanbaji* and *daejabi* add depth to the story. Therefore, depending on the on-site circumstances of a performance, improvised factors are added to the script. It is also natural for the text of the play to alter according to the story tellers. Although it is the *daejabi* who is in charge of the overall structure of the play, *sanbaji* is the one who helps the play proceed smoothly and utilizes on-site sense and improvisation, contributing to variations and expansion of the text of the play.

As such, *sanbaji* sometimes functions not only as a performer but a critical member of the audience; and on other occasions, *sanbaji* functions as a commentator or a director who gives actors their cues for entry and exit, or as a problem solver. In this sense, *sanbaji* helps to turn the traditional puppet show into an open performance that the audience can engage in, rather than a one-sided play led by the performers only.

Sangdukkun

상두꾼

Bier bearer who carries the funeral bier of Halmi, the old woman.

Bier bearers, who carry the funeral bier or deceased character Halmi (old woman) in masked dance-dramas, or the funeral bier of the provincial governor in traditional puppet plays.

In the strict sense, Sangdukkun (Kor. 상두꾼, lit. bier bearer) refers to a person who carries a funeral bier. However, in masked dance dramas Sangdukkun includes those who perform *apsori*, (lit. front singing), without carrying the bier. In Suyoung Yaryu, *sanbaji* without a mask appears wearing a white jacket and pants, *haenggeon* (hood worn by the mourning family), straw shoes and a peaked hat.

When Halmi collapses after being beaten by Yeonggam, acupuncture is applied and the Buddhist scriptures are read to her, but they fail to revive her. Subsequently, the death of Halmi is declared and bier bearers are called in, who chant Buddhist sutras as they walk around carrying the bier, then exit. In recent years, the bier bearers have begun to sing *ginsangyeosori* (long funeral dirge), instead of chanting sutras, while circling the scene.

In Dongnae Yaryu, the bier bearers wear the same costume as in Suyeong Yaryu, but without the *haenggeon*. After Halmi dies, six bier bearers appear, wrap her body in a white cloth and take it away. Then about ten bier bearers come back, sadly sing the funeral dirge (*sangyeosori*) while circling the scene once, and then exit.

In Tongyeong Ogwangdae, bier bearers wear a white jacket and pants with puttees (*haengjeon*) wrapped around their legs. *Apsorikkun*, which refers to the singers who perform *apsori*, do not wear a mask or headscarf, whereas Sangdukkun wear masks. After the death of Halmi, four bier bearers appear and cover Halmi's body with a white cloth, carrying it away. And then an *apsorikkun*, a lead singer who sings funeral songs, appears along with eight other bier bearers. While carrying the bier they sing the dirge, circling the scene once, and then exit.

In Goseong Ogwangdae, a group of Sangdukkun appear wearing white jacket and pants with ankle bands called *daenim* tied on them and a head scarf made of hemp cloth. After the death of Halmi, eight bier bearers come in, cover the body of Halmi with a white fabric, and carry it away. And then an *apsorikkun*, a lead singer who sings funeral songs, appears along with twelve other bier bearers with the bier on their shoulders. As in a funeral play, the performers sing the dirge to the rhythm of small gongs (*kkwaenggwari jangdan*), carrying the bier with an adult lying inside, while the audience offer money which the deceased will take to heaven, as participants at real funerals do when the bier is being carried out of the house. When the bier, which had exited, reappears at the request of the audience, the masked dance-drama draws to an end.

Until the 1950s, in *ogwangdae* and *yaryu* performed in Gyeongsang-do Province, the Halmi and Yeonggam act came to an end when the Sangdukkun covered Halmi's body with a white cloth and then simply walked away, without holding a bier-carrying performance. Only in Tongyeong Ogwangdae and Goseong Ogwangdae was a simplified dirge sung. A bier began to appear in the performance in the 1960s, and has become bigger and fancier. The funeral procession performance where Sangdukkun sing a dirge while carrying the

bier, which is performed in traditional masked dance-dramas passed down in Gyeongsangnam-do Province, changes considerably according to the response of the audience.

In Toegye-won Sandaenori, four to six bier bearers in white jacket and pants appear after Halmi dies, place the body on a wooden board called *chilseongpan* (lit. seven-star board), cover it with a white cloth, and then take it away.

In Kkokdugaksinoreum performed by troupes of male itinerant entertainers, twelve Sangdukkun played by puppets carry the bier at the funeral for Pyeongangamsa, or the Governor of Pyeongan-do Province. The Sangdukkun have apricot-colored faces and wear white clothes and a head scarf made of hemp cloth. In Seosan Parkcheomji nori, the twelve puppets that carry the funeral bier of the Pyeongan-do Province governor are called *sangyeokkun*. Their costume is similar to that of the puppets of Kkokdugaksinoreum. The Sangdukkun that appear in puppet plays exchange no conversation and do not perform any particular activities except carrying the bier and singing funeral songs. The bier bearers can be viewed as a collective character who play a shared role rather than as independent characters.

In Haeseo Talchum and *sandaenori*, a large-scale shaman rite (*gut*) is held after Halmi's death to comfort the spirit of the deceased, and no bier bearers appear since there is no funeral procession scene. Likewise, among *ogwangdae* performances, Jinju Ogwangdae and Gasan Ogwangdae do not feature bier bearers since a large shaman rite is carried out after the death of Halmi, which means there is no funeral procession. Given that *jangnyenori* (funeral play) is performed at *hosang* (funeral of a person who died peacefully after a good life) and the funeral procession in which the bier is carried away from the house is acted out in traditional puppet plays, it can be inferred that in a traditional society, funeral play and bier-bearing performances served as interesting popular spectacles. However, the recordings of *gamyongeuk* before the 1960s do not contain any reference to a bier but show that four to five bier bearers appear and cover the dead body of Halmi with a cloth, and take it away by shouldering her body or just lifting it in their hands. Sometimes, the bier bearers sing a few simplified funeral songs as they carry the body away. The number of Sangdukkun increased to eight or ten, and the funeral songs also became longer after the 1960s. At that time, since traditional funeral rites were no longer observed by many Koreans, nostalgia for the past resulted in traditional funeral biers appearing in masked dance-dramas. The bier-bearing procession to the burial site



Sangdukkun (Goseong Ogwangdae) | National Folk Museum of Korea



Sangdukkun (Seosan Parkcheomji nori) | National Folk Museum of Korea

became more elaborate over time, the number of Sangdukkun increased and their role expanded as they performed a dirge in give and take (or before and after) format. In other words, the appearance of a bier led to enlargement of the bier bearer's role and importance. Real funeral rites held in different areas are simulated and funeral songs unique to those areas are incorporated into the performance. As the popularity of the scene of the bier being carried away from the house has been growing, the performers make impromptu changes according to the audience response, sometimes shaking the bier, or circling around several more times before leaving, while audiences may hang money on the bier for the dead to take to the next world. When the Halmi and Yeonggam act is the last act of the play, this scene where Halmi's dead body is placed in the bier and carried out of the house brings the act to an end and indeed the entire masked dance-drama.

Sangjwa

상좌

Silent novice monk appearing in masked dance-dramas.

Sangjwa (Kor. 상좌, Chin.上佐) is a silent monk character who appears in masked dance-dramas. He has no lines to speak and performs a ritual dance at the start of the show that carries religious wishes and is intended to purify the performance space.

Sangjwa is a silent monk who assists Nojang (old monk).

In Buddhism, a novice monk refers to a monk who, as one of an old monk's many pupils, will be an heir to the old monk. However, Sangjwa in masked dance-dramas (*gamyongeuk*) appears in the first act and bows to the gods of the four cardinal directions (north, south, east, and west), performing a ritual dance to pray for the safety and wellbeing of the audience and the success of the

performance. Bongsan Talchum, among the masked dance-dramas performed in Hwanghae-do Province, begins with *saSangjwachum* (dance of four novice monks), whereas Gangnyeong Talchum and Eunyul Talchum begin with the lion dance to purify the performance space. *Sangjwachum* is performed in the second act of Eunyul Talchum following the lion dance. Meanwhile, in Gangnyeong Talchum the novice monk's dance is performed after the lion dance (first act), Malttugi's club dance (second act) and the depraved monk's dance (third act).

In *gamyongeuk*, in terms of the character's roles and characteristics, Sangjiwa is responsible for holding a shaman rite, being a sacred character who is most suitable for carrying out a religious ritual. The characters who can preside over religious rites are the Buddhist monks (Omjung, Meokjung, Nojang, and Sangjiwa) and shamans. However, Palmeokjung, Omjung, and Nojang are all already apostates, sick, or depraved monks. In the meantime, the shaman is a character who closes a performance by holding *jinogwigut* to pray for an easy entry into the other world. As the only character with a pure religious image among all the characters of masked dance-drama performances, Sangjiwa performs a religious dance.

Second, Sangjiwa is best fitted to display sanctity at the start of a performance. Basically, the prologue and epilogue of a drama tend to determine its success or failure. Therefore, it is important to express sanctity in the prologue and the epilogue, and in this sense, Sangjiwa is most suited for this role. Third, Sangjiwa uses silence and dance as a means to express solemnity and ritual nature. This is manifested in the scene where the novice monk silently appears and bows with both hands together while solemnly and slowly dancing to the *yeombul jangdan*, a rhythm associated with Buddhist chanting, of the Vulture Peak Assembly where Sakyamuni Buddha preached on the Lotus Sutra to his disciples. Fourth, the novice monk's dance is a highly sophisticated style of dance, is meant to captivate the audience from the outset. Therefore, a person who performs the novice monk's dance should be petite and dance gracefully. Other monk characters, who are mostly apostates, have faces covered with scabies or a dusky complexion which makes them look malicious. However, Sangjiwa has a creamy face, relatively clear eyes, and wears a white Buddhist monk's robe, which makes the novice monk look pure. However, the first Sangjiwa wears a red sash and a red peaked hat, while the second Sangjiwa wears a blue peaked hat and a blue sash, making it possible to distinguish between the two.



The ritual dance performed by Sangjwa is designed to inform the gods of heaven. During the dance, the performer takes three steps forward, bowing in turns in the four cardinal directions, which is called *sabangjebae* (or *sabangchigi*, which means striking the four directions). This is a ritual dance in which the performer prays to the gods in all directions to expel miscellaneous ghosts. And then as the music changes to a slow chanting rhythm, the performer bows to the gods in all four directions with both arms wide open, which is called *beonjak* (Kor. 헌작, Chin. 獻酌, lit. offering wine), which simulates descendants of the dead rotating a cup of wine three times over burning incense and offering it to gods.

Seonnyeo

선녀

Fairy character in *ogwangdae* and *yaryu* performances.

The fairy character, Seonnyeo (Kor. 선녀, Chin. 仙女, lit. immortal woman), appears in the monk's dance (*seungmu*) act of Goseong Ogwangdae to seduce the monk and make him fall, and in one of the acts of Jinju Ogwangdae, the same character appears in the form of eight fairies, or Palseonnyeo, who entice the monk in the same fashion. The eight fairies are also featured in *gilnori* (street procession) of *yaryu* performed in Suyeong and Dongnae.

In Goseong Ogwangdae, Seonnyeo seduces the monk, making him violate the Buddhist precepts. The monk's dance act depicts the monk's depraved behavior. Two friendly fairies first appear followed by the monk. The monk dances face to face with each of them in turn then exits, leading the two fairies by the hand. It is an act that criticizes the fallen monk's behavior such as having both a wife and a concubine. In masked dance-dramas that are handed down in other regions, there is tension in the love relationship between the old monk (Nojang) and the

fairy (variously called Seonnyeo, Somu, Seoulaegi, or Jageuneomi) as the fairy whines and nags. These performances also feature another character who makes trouble in their romance. However, in Goseong Ogwangdae the monk's story develops without any particular conflict as he does not speak but simply dances with the two fairies and then exits, affectionately holding their hands. There are two kinds of fairy masks. That is, the two fairies wear different masks. Both fairies have their hair parted in the middle, but the first fairy has a fair face whereas the second one has a round and reddish face, which makes her look pleasantly plump and beautiful. The first fairy's mask is more decorative than the other, with rouge on the cheeks and the forehead, crescent-shaped eyebrows and eyelashes. The area between the eyebrows and lashes is tinged with red, clearly indicating that she is wearing make-up. The nose on the two fairies is more balanced than the nose on the masks of other characters, which is often exaggerated. The fairies' noses are balanced, properly positioned, and of normal size. Their lips are rouged and their teeth are not shown. Though the mask worn by the second fairy is less decorative, she also wears rouge on the cheeks and the forehead, though it is negligible, and has no eyelashes drawn on. The arched eyebrows of the first fairy are in harmony with the face overall and give her a seductive look, whereas the second fairy has eyes of ordinary shape, the two black lines around which give her a less showy appearance.

As for Tongyeong Ogwangdae, the character corresponding to Seonnyeo who drives the monk to depravity is Jageuneomi (lit. little mother, or Jejagaksi), the concubine of an old nobleman (Halmiyangban). In Gasan Ogwangdae it is Seoulaegi, or the bride who is the old man's concubine, that seduces the monk; and in Bammari Ogwangdae the old nobleman's concubine is called Jemuljip. In the masked dance-dramas that have been derived from Sandae Dogam, a government agency responsible for affairs regarding masked dance-dramas, Waejangnyeo, a woman who runs a tavern, orders her daughter Aesadang to seduce the monk. In the masked dance-dramas performed in Hwanghae-do Province, the role of seducer is undertaken by Somu (young shaman).

In Jinju Ogwandae, a group of eight fairies, or Palseonnyeo, entices the monk. In the fourth act, the novice monk and another monk, passing by the spot where the eight fairies are cheerfully dancing with the nobleman to a traditional Korean ballad (*taryeong*), are enthralled with the fairies. Failing to suppress his excitement, the monk begins to dance with them face to face and ends up being beaten by the male servant (Malttugi) and the nobleman.



Seonnyeo Masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

Masked dance-dramas that do not feature the eight fairies called Palseonnyeo but the Seonnyeo character during the pre-performance street procession include Tongyeong Ogwangdae, Suyeong Yaryu, and Dongnae Yaryu. In the past, Tongyeong Ogwangdae was performed as part of *sattonoreum* (Kor. 사또놀이, lit. play of the magistrate) on the fourteenth day of the first lunar month of the year. Likewise, Suyeong Yaryu and Dongnae Yaryu also feature the eight fairies in the pre-performance procession, which also includes a *pungmulpae* (Kor. 풍물패, Chin. 風物牌), a group that plays traditional percussion instruments.

Sinjangsu

신장수

Shoe seller who appears in masked dance-dramas.

Sinjangsu is the shoe seller who appears in masked dance-dramas.

The shoe seller is a character who appears in Bongsan Talchum, Yangju Byeolsan-daenori, Songpa Sandaenori and Toegyewon Sandaenori. The same character is commonly found in masked dance-dramas (*gamyongeuk*) that have been passed down in the central part of the country. In addition, Sinjangsu also appears in Bongsan Talchum performed in the Haeseo region. When the shoe seller appears in various masked dance-dramas, the stories develop in a similar way. Although Sinjangsu makes a deal to sell shoes to Nojang (old monk), he is not paid for the shoes or fails to finalize the deal. Sinjangsu reveals his indecent desire toward Somu and shows intriguing acrobatic feats and movements along with a monkey, which are features commonly found in the masked dance-dramas.



Sinjangsu (Bongsan Talchum) | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

Sinjangsu is not a major character in masked dance-dramas. This shoe seller character appears with the monkey and acts out various interesting scenes which grab the audience's attention, but he is not a leading character. In Yangju Byeolsandaenori and Toegyewon Sandaenori Sinjangsu does not even have his own mask. Instead, he shares the same mask as Malttugi, attesting to the fact that the shoe seller is not a key character. Sinjangsu in various masked dance-dramas sells a pair of shoes to Nojang, but fails to receive money for the shoes. However, he is not exemplified as a pitiful salesman who is not paid for goods sold. The image of a man who harbors indecent desire for Somu is embodied in the monkey. However, Sinjangsu's major function in various masked dance-dramas is to bring into focus the secularized image of the apostate old monk.

Although not a major character, Sinjangsu is significant in his own way. The shoe seller is a character that commonly appears in various masked dance-dramas derived from *sandaenori*, which were performed in the central part of the country. Therefore, through this character the common features and interrelationship among masked dance-dramas passed down in the central region can be identified. In addition, Sinjangsu also appears in Bongsan Talchum performed in the Haeseo region. After all, Sinjangsu reflects common features found in masked dance-dramas originating in *sandaenori* and at the same time serves to reveal the interrelationship between these performances and Bongsan Talchum.

Sinjubu

신주부

Oriental doctor who performs acupuncture in *sandaenori* performances.

Oriental doctor, a character who appears in the acupuncture act, or *chimnori*, in *sandaenori* handed down in the central part of the country. Sinjubu feels the pulse of the sons of Meokjung, the depraved monk, and saves them with acupuncture.

Sinjubu (Kor. 신주부, Chin. 新主簿) is an acupuncturist who appears in Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Songpa Sandaenori, and Toegyewon Sandaenori. This oriental doctor character appears in the *chimnori* (acupuncture performance) act to revive the dying son of Meokjung with acupuncture.

In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Sinjubu appears in the *chimnori* scene of the fifth act, the Palmeokjung (eight depraved monks) act. Looking at the content of the play, Meokjung urgently asks Wanbo for help because his children, who came out to watch *sandaenori*, are dying from acute indigestion caused by street food that they ate. Wanbo concludes that the children are possessed by evil spirits, so he decides to treat the dying sons of Meokjung with the rule of the god, singing “Baekgu Taryeong” (“Song of the White Gull”) but in vain. So Meokjung calls in the acupuncturist Sinjubu at the recommendation of Wanbo. Sinjubu persuades Meokjung to give up on his sons who died from excessive sexual relations and heavy drinking, and are possessed by evil spirits from a house in mourning and a banquet house. When Meokjung entreats Sinjubu to save his sons, however, the acupuncturist feels their pulse and saves their lives with acupuncture. According to the witty exchange in Yangju Byeolsandae, Sinjubu is an oriental doctor who originally lived in the town of Jaetgol before moving to Meonjitgol. Meokjung, hearing that Sinjubu is a highly skilled doctor, goes to visit him and asks him to save the lives of his sons. Sinjubu initially refuses to treat Meokjung’s sons. However, when Meokjung cavils at him, accusing him of making healthy young men die, Sinjubu reluctantly feels their pulse and applies acupuncture on them, which succeeds in reviving them. This scene shows Meokjung’s strong paternal love as well as Sinjubu’s outstanding medical skills and his difficulty in dealing with the situation.

Originally *jubu* (Kor. 주부, Chin. 主簿) refers to *nanggwan*, or a government official of junior sixth rank. There was the post of *jubu* in Hyeminseo (Office of Benefiting the People), a government agency providing public medical services during the Joseon Dynasty. Meanwhile, Jesaengwon (which was later incorporated into Hyeminseo), a government agency responsible for public relief work for the poor and missing children, or Hwarinseo, where medical services were provided for the homeless, had the post of *jubu*. However, the *jubu* at Jesaengwon or Hwarinseo mainly engaged in taking care of homeless patients, whereas Sinjubu appearing in *sandaenori* is an honorific term for a doctor in private practice. The content of Toegyewon Sandaenori is similar to that of Yangju Byeolsandaenori.

Sinjubu’s *chimnori* (acupuncture performance) is played out in the sixth act of

Songpa Sandaenori. As for the content, when one of the eight depraved monks collapses, the remaining monks, after identifying the fallen man, attempt to release blockage of an accupunture point as they sing “Baekgu Taryeong” (“Song of the White Gull”). When they fail to wake the fallen monk up, they call in Sinjubu, widely known for his excellent medical skills. The acupuncturist, who finds this late-night situation annoying, feels the monk’s pulse and applies acupuncture to save him. In terms of his role, Sinjubu in Songpa Sandaenori plays a similar role to Hwang Bongsa (Blind Man Hwang), who is featured in *talnori* performed in Gyeongsang-do Province, in that acupuncture is used to save a man’s life. However, there is a slight difference in that Sinjubu saves the lives of Meokjung’s sons, whereas the blind Hwang Bongsa tries to save Halmi’s life with acupuncture only to fail.

The mask worn by Sinjubu in Yangju Byeolsandaenori is colored scarlet and the corners of the eyes and eyebrows are similar to those of Wanbo. Sinjubu wears a white coat, a *gwan* (traditional hat), and a hood, called *geon* (Kor. 건, Chin. 巾, lit. hood)²⁶, with a needle stuck into it. Seo Yeonho, a Korean scholar, interprets *chimnori* as manifestation of the idea that psychological blockages can be relieved by play, just like physical blockages can be relieved by acupuncture. The depraved Buddhist monk Meokjung’s misbehavior and collapse of the family after his sons’ tragic death humorously reflect the miserable real lives of the ordinary people who could not properly address urgent health issues in the late Joseon period.

Gamyeonggeuk not only depicts the characters’ deviant behavior in daily life, but presents realistic representation of characters. It can be said that the Yeonggam and Halmi act as well as the acupuncture act are realistic representations of the miserable real world. In other words, the former reflects the desire of the general populace that couples, fathers and sons, and sisters and brothers will settle conflict and restore estranged relationships, while the latter reflects an emergency situation in which the protagonist faces the death of his sons and attempts to save them.

26. Geon refers to a traditional hood.

Somu

소무

Name of a tavern woman or concubine.

A tavern woman who appears in traditional masked dance-dramas as a character responsible for the fall of an elderly monk or as a concubine who makes the original wife's life a misery.

Somu (Kor. 소무, Chin. 小巫, lit. young shaman) is a key character appearing in *gamyongeuk* (masked dance-drama). As a young woman, particularly a woman of pleasure, she is very attractive. The fact that Somu wears rouge on her white face and fine clothes like a bride emphasizes the nature of the character as professional entertainer.

Generally, one or two Somu appear, depending on the masked dance-drama.

In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Somu appears in the eighth act, Pagyeseungnori (apostate monk's play); the tenth act, Chwibarinori; and the twelfth act, Podobujangnori. First, in the eighth act, Nojang (old monk) falls in love with Somu at first sight and throws away his six-ring staff (*yukhwanjang*), trying to win Somu's heart, only to fail. Nojang then gambles and wins money, and seeing this the two Somu accept Nojang. And then in the tenth act, Chwibari appears and attempts to win Somu's love. Nojang throws off his Buddhist robe and attacks Chwibari, but the old monk is defeated as Chwibari is young and full of energy. The old monk who has kept winning so far loses the love of one Somu to Chwibari and runs away with the other. Somu gives birth to Chwibari's baby and Chwibari teaches the baby how to read and write. In the 12th act, Saennim (feeble scholar) and Podobujang (policeman) compete for the love of Somu, who is Saennim's concubine. Saennim, an incompetent and helpless old man, loses Somu to the powerful young man, Podobujang.

In Gangnyeong Talchum, Somu who plays opposite Noseung (Old Monk) as well as Chwibari and is the mother of Chwibari's baby, appears riding in a palanquin and dances face to face with Noseung and Chwibari in the second and third part of the sixth act. Somu is said to have worn a red skirt and a jacket with



Somu (Songpa Sandaenori) | National Folk Museum of Korea

sleeves of multicolored stripes. Currently, however, the same character wears a yellow jacket (*jeogori*) decorated with red on the neckband, cuffs and armpits, and *saekdong hansam*, sleeve extensions in multicolored stripes. Over this she wears a blue *kwaeja* (long, sleeveless vest) and around the waist a sash that is dark blue on the front side and red on the reverse side. Somu wears *jeollip* (type of military hat) which is reminiscent of the hats worn by shamans. The *jeollip* is colored black and has a five-colored tassel attached on top with a gold border trimmed with red. Since the 1900s, the appearance of Somu began to change to resemble a shaman today.

The Yangban Gwangdae (masked nobleman) and Somae Gaksi act of Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk is the story of the Yangban (nobleman) winning Somae Gaksi's heart. The *sisittakttagichum* act is the story of a group of characters called Sisittakttagi, who interfere in the love between Yangban and Somu. In the fourth act, Somae Gaksi commits suicide and then returns to life. After driving away the Sisittakttagi, Yangban takes Somae Gaksi and scolds her for flirting with them. Somae Gaksi denies this while begging for forgiveness. But the Yangban's anger is not appeased, which makes Somae Gaksi kill herself by tying the nobleman's long beard around her neck. A group of Jangjamari and Sisittakttagi find Somae Gaksi dead, and then bring *seonghwangsinmok* (Kor. 성황신목, Chin. 城隍神木, lit. spirit pole of the village deity), or *seonangdae*, which refers to a spirit pole that is the physical manifestation of the village god, and pray for the village god to comfort the soul of Somae Gaksi. Finally, Somae Gaksi comes back to life and the story ends.

Pijori is a character who appears in Saennimjabi, the third act of *deotboegi* (cutting down *deot*, or evil spirits that bring plague) performed by *namsadang* (male itinerant entertainers). The mask is peach colored, the eyebrows, hair and facial wrinkles are black, and the lips are red. Pijori is played by two actors called *gap* and *eul*. The two Pijori wear a ribbon called *daenggi*, a traditional hair accessory worn in braided hair. In the Saennimjabi act, Pijori dances for a while with Saennim, Nochinne (old man), and Malttugi to traditional rhythms. Then Nochinne and Malttugi make their exit while Pijori approaches Saennim and dances around him. In response, Saennim warns the two Pijori not to behave indecently and come in right away, and then exits. Following Saennim's exit, the two Pijori start to perform their dance in the corner. As the two Pijori keep dancing, Meokjung appears and dances between them. And then, when Chwibari comes in and exchanges witty remarks with *jaebi*, the two Pijori get nervous.

When Chwibari drives Meokjung away, the two Pijori avoid him. Chwibari approaches one of them and starts flirting. And then when he lightly taps the other Pijori, accusing her of flirting with the monk, the two Pijori become sulky. In response, Chwibari invites the two Pijori to dance with him, and they dance together and then make their exit.

Somu is a term that mistakenly appeared in the process of recording scripts of *gamyongeuk* in the early stages of research. Somu or Somaе Gaksi appearing in traditional masked dance-dramas is a character originating from Somaе, who appears in *narye* (exorcism rites). Somu, a beautiful woman, mostly personifies a woman working in a tavern or a female entertainer (*gisaeng*). Particularly, in the Nojang act, Somu is one of the main characters who leads the performance with Nojang and Chwibari.

Waejangnyeo

왜장녀

Tavern owner, who is accompanied by her daughter Aesadang.

Tavern owner, a character who always appears accompanied by her daughter Aesadang. She sells liquor to Meokjung, a depraved monk, or makes her daughter attend on him.

Originally, Waejangnyeo refers to a woman who is of large build and commits brazen acts without hesitation. Therefore, in *gamyongeuk* (masked dance-drama) Waejangnyeo is portrayed as the tavern owner who forces a young female performer (*yeosadang*) to attend to Meokjung in return for money. Among the areas where *sandaenori* featuring Waejangnyeo and Aesadang has been performed, Yangju was an *eupchi* (Kor. 읍치, Chin. 邑治) area, a place where a district magistrate dwelled during the Joseon Dynasty, whereas Songpa and Toegyewon were *jangsi* (Kor. 장시, Chin. 場市) areas, where waterborne commerce flourished.



Waejangnyeo (Songpa Sandaenori) | National Folk Museum of Korea

These areas were used as major bases for troupes of wandering entertainers and under their direct influence. Waejangnyeo and Aesadang are viewed as former members of *yeosadangpae*²⁷ who settled down in ordinary residential areas, given that Waejangnyeo is accompanied by Aesadang, a young female performer. In particular, Waejangnyeo appears in a Buddhist monk's robe. Originally, groups of professional entertainers called *sadang* or *geosa* were composed of entertainers who belonged to neither the Buddhist world nor the secular world. They were the outcome of the anti-Buddhist policy that shut down all Buddhist temples in the country under the rein of King Taejong, third monarch of Joseon, but retained some connection with Buddhist temples. Groups of these professional entertainers travelled across the country and made a living by performing a variety of entertainments and acrobatic skills. In certain situations, female entertainers were involved in prostitution. In that respect, in *sandaenori*, the depraved monks who violate the Buddhist precepts view young female itinerant entertainers as sexual objects.

Waejangnyeo's mask in Yangju Byeolsandaenori is white with rouge on the cheeks and the forehead. In some cases, Waejangnyeo's mask is shared by Hae-san Eomeom or Dokkinui. This female character wears a jade-green jacket and skirt, white *dansokgot* (woman's drawers), and a monastic robe (*jangsam*) with a dragon painted on the back and a sash around the waist. She has a big red head and carries a traveler's backpack.

Waejangnyeo appears as the owner of a tavern in town or market areas where *sandaenori* has been performed and forces Aesadang to attend to Meokjung to make money. Waejangnyeo and Aesadang are former members of wandering troupes who settled down in residential areas and are to some degree connected with Buddhist temples. They are subject to sexual harassment by Meokjung in the masked dance-dramas.

27. *Yeosadangpae* refers to groups of itinerant female entertainers.

Wanbo

완보

One of the eight depraved monks in *sandaenori* performances.

One of the eight depraved monks (Meokjung) who leads the other depraved monks and Omjung in the *yeombulnori*²⁸ act, *chimnori* (acupuncture) act, Aesadangnori (dance of Aesadang) act, and *pagyeseungnori* (dance of the apostate monk) act in *sandaenori* performances.

In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Wanbo (Kor. 완보, Chin. 完甫) appears as the leader of eight Buddhist monks and approaches the other monks to ask their true identities. Meokjung discloses that they are Buddhist monks in appearance, but actually womanizers. And these Meokjung, while reciting Buddhist sutras at the request of Wanbo, make vulgar jokes uncharacteristic of Buddhist monks.

Lee Duhyeon, a Korean folklorist, named the leader of the eight monks Wanbo (完甫) and viewed him as a monk wearing a *gwan* (traditional indoor hat indicating wearers' rank). Akiba Takashi, a Japanese scholar on Korean folklore, said that within merchant unions called *dojung* (Kor. 도중, Chin. 都中) the oldest one undertakes the role of Wanbo, a term that also refers to the head of monks called *osang* (Kor. 오상, Chin. 五常). *Dojung* was a trade union formed by people of the lower classes in charge of miscellaneous services in governmental agencies. This trade union oversaw *sandaenori* handed down in Yangju, Gyeonggi-do Province. However, Seo Yeonho thinks differently in terms of the origin of Wanbo. Seo introduced the theory that a man named Kim Wanbo, the caretaker of a shrine located in Yangju in the latter half of the 19th century, excelled in his portrayal of the Wanbo role. As a result, the name of the mask worn by the character was changed to Wanbo. He also introduced another theory that the name Wanbo was derived from a Mongolian clown.

Wanbo is among the eight Meokjung and viewed as a key character. In effect, in *sandaenori*, Wanbo leads Meokjung or Omjung and is most active in making fun of Nojang (old monk). He is depicted as a vulgar and dynamic figure, boosting the performance of masked dance-dramas from the outset. Wanbo's mask

is red with a triangular-shaped, closed mouth, and has a large curved wrinkle in the cheek and three large wrinkles on the forehead. In terms of costume, Wanbo wears a Buddhist monk's robe with a dragon painted on the back, a red sash, and a gray *gwan*.

Wanbo was played by the oldest person within the union which performed Yangju Byeolsandaenori. He is an important figure that appears along with Meokjung and Omjung and leads the two monks. Wanbo takes the lead in making witty remarks and helps lead the play as he appears in the act involving monks at the beginning of the performance.



Wanbo (Yangju Byeolsandaenori) | Yangju in Gyeonggi-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

28. Performance related to Buddhist chanting.

Yangban

양반

Nobleman character appearing in masked dance-dramas.

A character who appears in the Yangban act of masked dance-dramas (*gamy-eongeuk*). The Yangban is a nobleman who represents the corrupt and incompetent ruling class and is the subject of criticism and contempt.

In the Yangban (Kor. 양반, Chin. 兩班, lit. both classes) act of *gamyongeuk* performed in various regions of the country, characters of various names appear playing the part of the Yangban. The Yangban character can be analyzed according to the *gamyongeuk* type and region of origin.

1. Gamyongeuk derived from bonsandaenori

- ① Yangban who appears in *sandaenori* masked dance-dramas, which were performed in Gyeonggi-do Province. In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, nobleman characters include Seobangnim and Doryeonnim. Saennim (Kor. 샌님), a feeble scholar of Yangju Byeolsandaenori, is a nobleman who highly values authority and honor but is a helpless character who is ridiculed by Malttugi and Soettugi. Saennim is unable to make reasonable judgement and sometimes shows an opportunistic attitude. Saennim is a contraction of *saengwon* (Kor. 생원, Chin. 生員), a classics licentiate, and was used by the lower classes in reference to a *seonbi*, or Confucian scholar. On his way to *gwageo*, the state civil service exam, Saennim is pleased when Malttugi reserves a pigpen as a place for an overnight stop and feels affronted by Soettugi who arrogantly introduces himself. He even invents stories when he punishes Malttugi for his blunder. Saennim is also a corrupt character. When Malttugi asks him to ease the punishment in return for money, he accepts Malttugi's offer. Saennim is depicted as an incompetent man who loses his concubine, Somu, to the young policeman, Podobujang. Seobangnim was born in a respectable family. However, being a pathetic man, he tries to take advantage of the ignorant and incompetent Saennim's authority. In traditional society, Seobangnim was the term used to address a young scholar who

had no public office. The character Doryeonnim is also referred to as Jonggajip Doryeonnim (bachelor from the head family). Like Seobangnim, Doryeonnim is equally incompetent and dependent and takes advantage of Saennim's power.

In Songpa Sandaenori, nobleman characters include Saennim, Seobangnim, and Doryeonnim. Saennim highly values authority and honor, but he is made fun of by Malttugi and Soettugi. Saennim has a concubine, which leads to conflicts between his wife and the concubine. He abandons his wife but ends up losing his concubine to Podobujang. As a nobleman, Saennim strives to restore his lost authority only to reveal his incompetence and weakness. Seobangnim is the eldest son (Kor. 장자, Chin. 長子) of Saennim. He is born in a powerful *yangban* family but is feeble-minded, living by taking advantage of incapable Saennim's authority. Doryeonnim, a subordinate character to his elder brother Seobangnim and his father Saennim, has no lines to speak.

In Toegyewon Sandaenori, the nobleman characters appearing in the tenth act, *malttuginori*, and the eleventh act, *podobujangnori*, include Saennim, Seobangnim, and Doryeonnim. Saennim becomes a *yangban* by traffic in government positions and is ridiculed by his servants because of his ignorance. He is narrow-minded and quick-tempered. Some noblemen appearing in Toegyewon Sandaenori are similar to those in other masked dance-dramas derived from *sandaenori*.

- ② Yangban appearing in Haeseo Talchum of Hwanghae-do Province. The nobleman characters appearing in Bongsan Talchum include Saengwon (Mat Yangban, or first nobleman), Seobang (second nobleman), and Doryeong (third nobleman). In Bongsan Talchum the first nobleman is also called Saengwon. Saengwon does not notice when he is mocked by his servant Malttugi and eventually ends up entering a pigsty. He composes poems with his younger brothers, Seobang and Doryeong, by suggesting starting rhyme characters but is ridiculed by Mattugi for this also. Although he has no lines to speak, Doryeong mimics gestures made by his older brothers, hitting their faces with a fan and acting frivolously. Through such imprudent acts, he demeans himself as a nobleman.

The nobleman characters appearing in Gangnyeong Talchum are Mat Yangban (Mahan Yangban), Jinhan Yangban (second nobleman), Byeonhan Yangban or Jaemul Daegam (third nobleman), and Doryeong (forth nobleman). Mahan Yangban, the first nobleman in Bongsan Talchum and Eunyul Talchum, wears a white coat or jade-colored formal overcoat, whereas the same character in



Doryeonnim
(Bongsan Talchum)



Yangban
(Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori)



Mat Yangban
(Gangnyeong Talchum)



Cha Yangban
(Tongyeong Ogwangdae)

Yangban masks | National Folk Museum of Korea

Gangnyeong Talchum wears a garment not befitting his social status, displaying self-degradation. In addition, he puts on a hat made of dog skin, which invites the ridicule of the second nobleman. This character makes many witty remarks, including wordplay on four-character Chinese idioms and old sayings. Generally, Mat Yangban is a character who places great importance on artistic, elegant pursuits and pretension. Jinhan Yangban, the second nobleman, quarrels with the others over dance moves, costume, the *gwan* (official hat) that they wear, and the essence of the ruling class. The third nobleman, Jaemul Daegam, dances *mudangchum* (shaman's dance) at Mat Yangban's suggestion, performs *mansubajigut*, a shaman rite in which shamanic songs are performed in a *mansubaji* (also known as *mansebaji*) format, where performers in sitting position relay songs sung by standing performers, and suddenly collapses. However, when other noblemen heartily pray for his resuscitation, he returns to life. Doryeong follows Jaemul Daegam and acts recklessly.

The nobleman characters appearing in Eunyul Talchum include the first nobleman, second nobleman, and third nobleman. In Eunyul Talchum, the first nobleman is belittled by his servant Malttugi, who does not respond to him and even takes a whip to his back. Malttugi lies prone with his bottom facing the second nobleman and lets out a fart at his head, humiliating and ridiculing him. The third nobleman appears on stage while performing *byeongsinchum* (dance of the disabled) with the other two noblemen and Saemaeksi, a character equivalent to Somu in Bongsan Talchum. The third nobleman has distorted arms and legs, which makes it difficult for him to move freely, and Malttugi even mounts on his back, pressing him down, and steals Saemaeksi's love from him.

- ③ *Yangban* appearing in *yaryu* and *ogwangdae* that have been passed down in Gyeongsangnam-do Province. The nobleman characters appearing in *Suyeong Yaryu* include Su Yangban (first nobleman), Cha Yangban (second nobleman), also named Jicha Yangban or Mo Yangban, Jjaebo Yangban (third nobleman), and Jongga Doryeong, or bachelor from the head family (Chaekbang Doryeong). Su Yangban is the head of the five noblemen and wears the attire of a government official. He has the aura of an idle nobleman and a noble, dignified appearance. Cha Yangban is also called Jicha Yangban, which literally means second nobleman. He is also addressed as Mo Yangban because he wears a hairy hat, *mo* meaning “hair.” Cha Yangban is the oldest among the five, and he moves more slowly than the other four noblemen. The third nobleman is young and uncultivated in various aspects. The forth nobleman is shallow and young, in his 20s, and his face is covered with black and white moles. He has a slightly crooked nose and a cleft lip so he is also called Jjaebo Yangban. *Jjaebo* is a derogatory term for a harelipped person in Korean. Jongga Doryeong wears *bokgeon*, a traditional hood, and *kwaaja*, a long, sleeveless vest. He is young and also called Chaekbang Doryeong, which literally means the bachelor in the study.

Noblemen appearing in *Dongnae Yaryu* include Won Yangban (eldest nobleman), Cha Yangban (second nobleman), Setjjae Yangban (third nobleman), also called Mo Yangban, Durungdari, or Gaejallyang, Netjjae Yangban (forth nobleman), Jonggajip Doryeong, and Bibi Yangban. Won Yangban was once called *sonyeon dangsang* (Kor. 소년당상, Chin. 少年堂上, lit. young *dang-sanggwan*) *aegidoryeong*,²⁹ because he passed *gwageo*³⁰ at an early age. Won Yangban is the main character who comes into conflict with Malttugi as the representative of other *yangban* in the second act. Cha Yangban agrees with Won Yangban, but he is also mocked by Malttugi like the other noblemen. The third nobleman is called Mo Yangban as his face is fully covered with yellow dog hair. His name also implies that he is an incompetent and unintelligent nobleman. This third nobleman is also called Gaejallyang because he uses a sitting mat made of dogskin, or Durungdari because he wears a leather hat. The forth nobleman is old enough to retire and has a white long beard. He agrees with Won Yangban, but is also mocked by Malttugi like the other noblemen. Jonggajip Doryeong is the youngest of the five and immature. He makes fun of Mo Yangban by swinging the bell just under Mo Yangban’s chin as if he were a dog, or imitates Won Yangban, which represents the falsity of the *yangban* class. Bibi Yangban appears in the third act, featuring Yeongno. Bibi Yangban’s life is

greatly threatened by the monster Yeongno.

Noblemen characters who appear in the second act, *pungjatal* (mask of satire), in Tongyeong Ogwangdae are Won Yangban (eldest nobleman), Cha Yangban (second nobleman), Hongbaek Yangban (third nobleman), Meoktal Yangban (fourth nobleman), Sonnim Yangban (fifth nobleman), Bittureumi Yangban (sixth nobleman), and Jorijung Yangban (seventh nobleman). The true nature of the noblemen is revealed by Malttugi. Malttugi discloses the noblemen's origins: there were eight female entertainers among the ancestors of Won Yangban; Cha Yangban is the son of a female servant, that is, he is the offspring of a concubine; Hongbaek Yangban is the son of two fathers whose family names are Hong and Baek; Meoktal Yangban has a blackened body, the result of his mother suffering bad luck; Bittureumi Yangban had a severe stroke, which made his body twisted; Jorijung Yangban was a child born out of wedlock when his mother, a lay Buddhist, had an affair.

In Goseong Ogwangdae the nobleman characters are Won Yangban (Hwangje Yangban), Jeot Yangban (Cheongje Yangban, Baekje Yangban, Jeokje Yangban, Heukje Yangban), Jonga Doryeong (Choraengi or Chorani), Bibi Yangban, and Hongbaekga. Won Yangban is a character who was once called *sonyeon dangsang aegidoryeong*, which means a young official who was allowed to discuss state affairs with the kings at the palace because he passed the state civil service exam at an early age. He is the head of this group of noblemen. Jeot Yangban implies a nobleman secondary to Won Yangban, who is the most important figure here. This same character is also called Jeot Gwangdae or Gyeot Yangban. Jongga Doryeong is also called Choraengi, because the bachelor from the head family is restless and pulls pranks on other noblemen, for which he is repeatedly criticized. Bibi Yangban is startled at the sight of Bibi, an omnivorous imaginary animal which is also known as Yeongno, so he collapses, sometimes crawls around, and runs away frightened out of his wits. Hongbaekga appears accompanying Won Yangban and a group of Jeot Yangban. Half of his face is red and the other half is white. According to Won Yangban's lines, "half was created by Mr. Baek from Suwon and the other half by Mr. Hong from Namyang. So Hongbaekga was created a *yangban*, half and half."

In Gasan Ogwangdae, five noblemen appear: the eldest nobleman and four younger noblemen. The eldest nobleman (Keun Yangban) wears a black *jeong-jagwan* (scholar's cap) and he makes his appearance dancing to the *deotbaegi jangdan* (rhythm) with the other four young noblemen. Malttugi follows them.

The servant character holds a whip in his right hand, which he wields overhead, moving toward the center of the stage and then pacing around. Malttugi quizzes the noblemen on Chinese characters as a way to make fun of them. In the ensuing monk act, when the Yangban loses Seoulaegi's love to Nojang, he orders Malttugi to arrest the old monk and harshly punishes him. Jageun Yangban (younger nobleman) is an incompetent character who appears following the eldest nobleman.

Noblemen characters who appear in the second act, *otalnoreum*, of Jinju Ogwangdae are Saengwon (classics licenciante), Cha Saengwon, and Ong Saengwon. In the Yangban act, Malttugi appears and wields a whip to drive five Mundungi (leper) away. And then Malttugi calls out Saengwon, Cha Saengwon, Ong Saengwon (derogatory term for a man of a small mind and bigoted temper), and the three noblemen appear. When Malttugi wields a whip, Saengwon is so frightened that he runs away. When Malttugi is left alone, he dances to the *deotbaegi jangdan*. Malttugi then shouts out to the noblemen three times and they appear. At this moment, Malttugi says that he cleaned his body and made a wish at the Buddhist temple, and scoured all corners of the country including Wonsan, and Gyeonggi, Namhae, and Ganghae in search of Saengwon. Saying that he met a female entertainer in Jagan, Malttugi discloses that she was the mother of Ong Saengwon and Cha Saengwon.

2. Yangban appearing in *gamyongeuk* derived from village shaman rites, or *maeul gut nori*

The nobleman character in Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk is Yangban Gwangdae (masked nobleman). Yangban Gwangdae, decent and dignified, shows up in a peaked hat while gently stroking his beard and begins to court Somae Gaksi. Somae Gaksi takes Yangban Gwangdae's arm and they walk around being intimate with each other. Suddenly, from either side, a Sisittaktagi appears holding a knife in his hands. Jealous of the couple, the two Sisittaktagi interrupt them. Sometimes Somae Gaksi is dragged off to one side to dance with the Sisittaktagi. After repelling the two Sisittaktagi, Yangban brings Somae Gaksi back and begins to accuse her of flirting with them. Somae Gaksi vehemently denies the Yangban's allegation and begs his forgiveness. The Yangban's anger is not appeased, however, so Somae Gaksi kills herself by tying his long beard around her neck.

3. Yangban appearing in *gamyongeuk* with other origins

The nobleman character who appears in the second act, Kkoksoe and Yangban, of Bukcheong Sajanori is simply called the Yangban. When a guide brandishes a stick to clear the way, the Yangban appears with Kkoksoe (or Kkeoksoe) and takes the role of leading the lion play. Yangban and Kkoksoe appear for *madan-gdori*, when all the performers stand in a circle and dance, and stay until the end of the last act of the performance, introducing upcoming episodes to the audience and calling in people to dance.

It is Saennim who appears in the capacity of a nobleman in the third act, Saennimjabi, of the *deotboegi* performance carried out by *namsadangpae*. Saennim mistreats his wife Nochinne (old woman) for following him around. Saennim makes witty remarks in the form of questions and answers regarding the reasons for which he is looking for Jaebi and his servant Malttugi. When Malttugi shows up, Saennim tells him to bow to him because he is a nobleman. Saennim is a character who is instrumental in disclosing the falsity of the feudal system in which the master Saennim is ridiculed by his servant Malttugi.

Nobleman characters appearing in Korean masked dance-dramas are all depicted as negative figures with abnormal appearance, as ostracized and antisocial figures, or as incompetent men defeated by rivals. The characteristics of noblemen appearing as key figures in *gamyongeuk* can be outlined as follows.

1. Negative characters with abnormal looks

In masked dance-dramas, the varied nobleman characters generally have a white complexion with a cleft lip, a crooked nose and mouth, a head with a bump on it, a face covered with hair, a face with one half white and the other half red, an entirely black face, or a face marked with smallpox. Such features are repellent to ordinary people and reveal the public negativity towards the aristocracy.

2. Antisocial beings ostracized by spiritual creatures

Yeongno (monster) featured in Suyeong Yaryu, Dongnae Yaryu, Tongyeong Ogwangdae, and Gasan Ogwangdae, and Bibi in Goseong Ogwangdae disclose the true face of *yangban* that is widely recognized among the commoners. In the Yeongno or Bibi acts, these two monsters appear and threaten to kill a nobleman, saying that have already preyed on ninety-nine noblemen and can ascend to heaven if they kill and eat one more. To save his own life, the Yangban reveals

his true face. In the eyes of the commoner, noblemen are unfavorable and negative beings that are equivalent to social disasters like evil spirits that bring plague. Since the ruling class of noblemen is the subject of public hostility and aversion, they need to be removed by using available every means.

3. Pathetic beings who are defeated in fundamental confrontations

“Namseong gwanghuija,” the title of a poem composed by Gang Icheon (姜彝天) of the Joseon period after watching a puppet show and *gamyongeuk*, has a scene where Saennim and Podobujang dance. When Saennim (feeble old scholar) is with a young concubine named Somu, the young policeman Podobujang appears, carrying a sword, and wins Somae’s heart. The two perform the sword dance together. Today, the Saennim and Podobujang acts in Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Songpa Sandaenori, and Bongsan Talchum have a similar story line. In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Podobujang is depicted as a character with a strong drive who takes Somu’s love from Saennim. The young Podobujang, who is contrasted with the old and feeble scholar Saennim, symbolizes youth, fitness, and sexual competence. Power to defeat Saennim does not represent authority or political power. Instead, it represents power with practical value. Podobujang in Songpa Sandaenori shows up in the eleventh act, Saennim, Miyal, and Podobujangnori. Falling in love with Jageunmanura, Saennim’s concubine, and taking her love from the old nobleman, Podobujang is characterized by great strength and tenacity. Shown in a variety of *gamyongeuk* that were created in the latter half of the Joseon Dynasty, the love triangle in which the Yangban and Podobujang confront each other over a woman’s love does not place importance on fidelity or restoration of the existing order. Instead, these masked dance-dramas bring into focus conflicts stemming from free love. Two men’s fight over a woman and the woman’s choice of a positive, new love naturally reveal the innate desires of human beings. The image of the Yangban, who is the loser in such love confrontations, shows the collapse of the nobleman as a social being and his failure in basic love relations. After all, the image of the nobleman as a loser reveals the incompetence of the *yangban* class as a whole.

29. *Sonyeon dangsang* refers to a young government official who was allowed to discuss state affairs with the kings at the palace.

30. The state civil service exam held during the Joseon Dynasty.

Yeonggam

영감

Old man who is Halmi's husband in masked dance-dramas.

An old man who is the husband of Halmi and a symbol of patriarchal society. He criticizes his wife regarding the care of their children and brings home a concubine, who confronts Halmi, which in the end leads to Halmi's death.

Yeonggam (Kor. 영감, lit. old man) appears in the last act of *gamyongeuk* (masked dance-dramas) with Halmi, causing conflict over family issues. Minor quarrels between the couple, responsibility for child-rearing, and conflict caused by his concubine all led to Halmi's death.

Yeonggam is very male-centered and patriarchal. As such, in *sandaenori* or *yaryu*, in the case of a separated couple all the responsibility for raising the children falls on the woman. In traditional society, women were fully responsible for raising the children, and the last act demonstrates that such a social practice can



Yeonggam and Halmi act (Suyeong Yaryu) | National Folk Museum of Korea

be exploited. In other words, the child-rearing issue is used to justify the practice of men taking a concubine. Women were responsible for taking care of children and protecting the family, but institutionally they had no right to claim property. When Halmi runs away from home and demands that her husband share his wealth, Yeonggam severely discriminates against Halmi in favor of his concubine, thus making Halmi give up her demand.

In general, Yeonggam wears a white mask. However, the mask worn by the same character is orange colored in Gasan Ogwangdae and Songpa Sandaenori. In Dongnae Yaryu, Suyoung Yaryu, Gasan Ogwangdae, and Tongyeong Ogwangdae he wears a long beard. The Yeonggam mask worn in *gamyongeuk* performed in other areas mostly has a mustache and a beard that is not too long. Meanwhile, in Bongsan Talchum and Gangnyeong Talchum, Yeonggam wears a *gwan* (hat) made of dog hair, which suggests implicit belittling of the character in these masked dance-dramas.

In terms of costume, the old man mostly wears a white *durumagi* (traditional overcoat) and often carries a cane and a fan. Yeonggam wears a white *durumagi* in Goseong Ogwangdae, Eunyul Talchum, Yangju Byeolsandaenori; a gray *durumagi* in Bongsan Talchum; a blue *dopo*³¹ in Suyeong Yaryu; and a black *dopo* in Gangnyeong Talchum.

In principle, *gamyongeuk* is created based on male-oriented tradition and views. In the past, all the cast members were male, and even female characters were played by men, which inevitably meant male-dominated views of women were reflected. Without the appearance of a third character like Malttugi, who introduces satirical features to the play and makes fun of the Yangban, traditional masked dance-dramas only point to contradictions in the family system through the death of Halmi. This seems to reflect the reluctance of groups that have passed down traditional masked dance-drama to destroy the male-centered world view. Ironically, they were very active in disclosing the hypocrisy of the aristocracy and the ruling class, as well as in lampooning the ideological world view of depraved monks but were passive in exposing the contradictions of their own lives. By displaying conflict among family members, they simply stress that entire families can be affected by such conflict. For this reason, although showing the disintegration of family relations in the late Joseon Dynasty, masked dance-dramas approach tragic stories of family conflict, confrontation, parting, and death as humorous theatrical plays performed as a seasonal custom.

31. A gentleman's formal overcoat.

Yeongno

영노

Monster appearing in masked dance-dramas from Gyeongsangnam-do Province.

An imaginary animal or monster that appears in masked dance-dramas handed down in Gyeongsangnam-do Province to punish the Yangban (nobleman).

Yeongno appears only in Kkokdugaksinoreum and *gamyongeuk* from the Gyeongsangnam-do region. In other words, masked dance-dramas performed in other areas do not feature the same character. Since the imaginary animal is not even found in folk tales, what the character is like can only be guessed through the lines spoken and role played by Yeongno. First, in the case of masked dance-drama, according to the text, Yeongno is an imaginary animal that lives in the sky and is omnivorous. He plays opposite the Yangban, mostly punishing noblemen.

Yeongno is portrayed as an almighty being that preys on anything and defeats anyone, but its appearance and character becomes varied and complex depending on the type of masked dance-drama. In form, Yeongno plays a willow pipe and makes a threatening “*bibi*” sound.

The appearance of Yeongno is a notable feature of *gamyonggeuk* passed down in Gyeongsangnam-do Province, as it is not seen in dramas performed in other regions. In addition, in the Yangban and Malttugi act, noblemen are subject to harsh criticism and are even directly punished, clear evidence that class conflict and criticism were more pervasive in the Gyeongsangnam-do region than elsewhere. Such characteristics of Yeongno are also reflected in its costume. The actor who plays the monster has no special stage costume but appears just wrapped in a large, variegated cloth, and holds a willow pipe in its mouth, making a very loud “*bibi*” sound. In particular, the red color that is painted on Yeongno’s mask in Dongnae Yaryu represents the color of *yang* (Kor. 양, Chin. 陽, lit. positive), which expels evil spirits. It can also be seen as the visual representation of the idea that noblemen are evil spirits to be driven away. The sharp, triangular teeth and tough-looking face are certainly frightening. Unlike other masked dance-dramas, in Tongyeong Ogwangdae Yeongno wears a dragon-head mask.



Yeongno (Gasan Ogwangdae) | Sacheon in Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 1980 | National Folk Museum of Korea

The monster's body is covered in a big sack with dragon scales painted on it. Yeongno holds a willow pipe in its mouth, making "*bibi*" sounds to threaten the noblemen. As such the monster's mask is called *bibital*. Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that Yeongno in Goseong Ogwangdae, as in Kkokdugaksinoreum, does not feed on great-great grandfathers and fathers. That is, Yeongno no longer attacks noblemen in the face of *hyo* (Kor. 효, Chin. 孝, lit. filial duty), an ideological weapon wielded by the ruling class of the Joseon Dynasty. Rather than the Yangban, who advocates Confucian ethics as a ruling ideology, Yeongno is the one to put Confucian virtues into action. It is ironic that the Confucian virtues shown by Yeongno are in stark contrast with the pathetic behavior of the Yangban, who uses every possible means to survive. That when the Yangban says, "I'm your great-great grandfather," Yeongno gives up eating him, paradoxically exemplifies that even in terms of moral and humanitarian criteria, the monster is superior to the nobleman. In short, Yeongno proves itself as a being that punishes the nobleman but is morally better than the nobleman. In Suyoung Yaryu, Yeongno states, "I came down to the earthly world for a while after committing a fault in heaven. I have already eaten ninety-nine noblemen. So if I kill one more, I will go back to heaven." Then Yeongno promises the Yangban, who is in

a life-threatening situation, that if a true nobleman tells him to go away he will do so. Suddenly, the Yangban boasts that he comes from a family of true noblemen and then tries to rule over Yeongno. In response, Yeongno proceeds to eat the nobleman, saying that he needs to feed on him to ascend to heaven. In short, the character of Yeongno, not found in any folktales, is the embodiment of public longing for the arrival of a being that challenges social inequality and oppression of the commoners. However, given that Yeongno appears only in masked dance-dramas performed in the Gyeongsangnam-do region, the monster is dramatic representation of the wishes of the local community.

Yuramgaek

유람객

Wanderer character who appears in *baltal*, foot puppet play.

A puppet character who is in constant confrontation with the fishmonger in *baltal*, a traditional puppet play using the feet.

Along with Eomuldoga Juin, Yuramgaek (Kor. 유람객, Chin. 遊覽客, lit. traveling and sightseeing guest) is a key character who leads the *baltal* performance. This character is also called Tal (mask), because a mask is worn on the character's face. Otherwise, since the Yuramgaek's face is the masked foot of the puppeteer, this performance is called *baltal* (lit. foot mask). Yuramgaek is good at dancing and singing and is a festive character who does extraordinary and extravagant acts without hesitation. At the outset of a *baltal* performance, Yuramgaek introduces himself as a person who is travelling around the country. He is good at singing poetic *sijo* songs, folk songs from the eight provinces of the country, *jagpa* (vulgar songs), *gosasori* (songs sung in a *gosa* rite to pray for blessings for the household), *ponsori danga* (short lyrical song performed prior to *pansori*),³² *muga* (shaman songs), and *aengmaegi* (songs to wish for good fortune). He is a truly free spirit.

Yuramgaek's talent at making witty remarks is also extraordinary. Though he has a malformed appearance with a bizarre and countrified face and only the upper half of the body, Yuramgaek displays extraordinary abilities and character throughout the performance. He may look strange but he embodies the true free spirit who travels all around the country with great exhilaration.

As a free-spirited mind who displays his accomplishments while traveling around the country, Yuramgaek is a deviant and festive character, who is far removed from universal knowledge and ordinary norms. Yuramgaek never conforms to the path of righteousness or ordinary rules. He always acts extravagantly and unpredictably.

Yuramgaek is the character played by the puppet actor in *baltal* performances. Strictly speaking, the movements and speech made by Yuramgaek all come from the puppeteer, or *baltalkkun*, sitting behind a covered stage. The puppet actor only shows the movements manipulated by the *baltalkkun*. Therefore, Yuramgaek can be seen as the result of combined voices and movements produced by the puppeteer and the outward appearance of the puppet actor. Yuramgaek appears only in *baltal* performances. Usually, a mask that forms the character's face, a dummy used for the body, and the arms, which are used as a stick to control movements of the puppet actor, remain disassembled. The disassembled face, body, and arms are put together for a performance, forming the outward appearance of the character Yuramgaek. Generally, clothes are put on the dummy's body prior to the performance.

Yuramgaek's face is expressed by a mask. In *baltal* performances held during Japanese colonial rule, the character's face was drawn on paper. Today, however, a mask is worn. Masks currently in use are made based on masks created by Lee Dongan during his living years. The shape of the *baltal* mask is similar to those used in masked dance-dramas such as Bongsan Talchum or Gangnyeong Talchum. However, a distinctive feature is that the eyeballs can be moved. Each of the facial features is exquisitely depicted with spatial depth, including the topknot, wrinkled forehead, big eyes and movable eyeballs, bulbous nose with countless moles, and wide mouth. The face is a light reddish brown. The body part of Yuramgaek consists of a dummy without a neck or four limbs. The two arms consist of bamboo rods. The part of the rods that protrudes beyond the curtain of the covered stage function as the wanderer's arms. For this reason, *baltal* performers call this bamboo rod *palttegi* (derogative terms for arms). The bamboo rods are stuck into the sleeves of the jacket worn on the dummy to



Yuramgaek (wanderer) | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

make them function as the arms of Yuramgaek. Usually, Yuramgaek's face, upper body, and arms are kept as separate parts that are put together before a *baltal* performance. Yuramgaek wears a jacket and a vest with long sleeve extensions. As the Yuramgaek puppet only has the upper half of the body, it has no need for a bottom garment.

The major characters appearing in *baltal* performances are Yuramgaek and Eomuldoga Juin. Although a female character also appears as the wife of the fishmonger, she only takes part in a limited number of episodes. Therefore, it is hard to view this female character as an important one. The stories of *baltal* performances mainly revolve around squabbles between Yuramgaek and Eomuldoga Juin over issues like greetings, appearance, *sijochang*,³³ *heoteun taryeongchum* (free style dance to the *heoteun jangdan*), sightseeing across the country, food items, mimicking a person counting fish, vulgar songs (*japga*), *ppareun jangdan-chum*,³⁴ a yellow corvina seller, and medicines. At the closing of the performance, Yuramgaek and Eomuldoga Juin perform *gosasori*³⁵ together. However, their singing in chorus does not indicate reconciliation between the two characters; it

is just performed to express their gratitude to the audience who came to see the performances. It is safe to say that the bickering between the two has not been settled.

The contrasting personalities of Yuramgaek and Eomuldogo Juin is the axis on which episodes of *baltal* performances develop. Underlying their distinct differences are opposing characteristics: wandering versus settled life, abnormality versus normality, festival versus daily life, deviation versus regularity. Added to these contrasts is conflict between the puppet actor and the human actor, which naturally makes *baltal* an intriguing form of masked theater. The malformed puppet actor who is unable to speak or move freely is depicted as a free-spirited person who travels around the country, whereas the human actor, who can speak and move by himself, is bound by daily norms and rules and does not go anywhere. It is this intriguing contradiction and paradox in which the real beauty of *baltal* can be found. Through Yuramgaek, the contradiction and paradox of *baltal* performances is brought to the fore. The actual scope of Yuramgaek's activities is limited to within the covered stage. As Yuramgaek is able to speak and move only as controlled by the puppeteer behind the scene, the character's activities are carried out only in front of the stage and are inevitably limited in scope. Despite such a handicap, Yuramgaek calls himself a wanderer who travels around the country. Hence, Yuramgaek stands at the center of contradiction and paradox which characterize *baltal* performances, where the deformed puppet actor, unable to speak or move by itself, is embodied as a free, open-minded and festive being with who travels around the country with passion.

32. *Pansori* is traditional narrative song by a solo artist accompanied by a drummer.

33. Narrative songs based on traditional Korean *sijo* poems.

34. *Ppareun jangdanchum* refers to dance with a quick rhythm.

35. *Gosasori* means songs sung in a *gosa* rite to pray for blessings for the household.

MASKED DANCE



Deotbaegichum

덧배기춤

Folk dance performed to cut down *deot*, or evil spirits that bring plague.

A folk dance in varied forms that is mostly performed in the Gyeonggi-do region, a shamanic dance to express cutting down *deot*, the epidemic caused by *yeoksin* (Kor. 역신, Chin. 疫神, lit. plague spirit) the evil spirit that brings plague.

Deotbaegichum, performed to the *gutgeori jangdan* (rhythm) or *deotbaegi jangdan*, is an atypical dance performed by spreading the arms out wide and shaking them naturally, bending and stretching the knees, a move called *gulsin* (Kor. 굴신, Chin. 屈伸, lit. bend and stretch), moving gently in impromptu fashion. Generally, it has a set form but this is not rigidly fixed; it can be described as a dance with freedom within rules, and rules within freedom.

The music is generally played by percussion instruments such as the *kkwaeng-gwari* (small gong), *jing* (large gong), *janggu* (hourglass-shaped drum), and *buk* (barrel drum), but in some regions the *sambyeonyukgak* (wind and string) ensemble is used. As it is performed to the *gutgeori jangdan*, a rhythm whose name is a compound of the words *gut*, meaning “rite” and *geori*, meaning ingredients (materials) or “to do something in a big way,” the strong link to shamanic rituals is evident.

Though not originally a male dance, *deotbaegichum* became fixed as such because it was performed in the form of *heoteunchum* (free dance) during *pungmul-nori*, or village rites which were mostly carried out by men. It also appeared in entertainments mostly performed by men such as *gamyengeuk* and *baekjungnori* and hence was transformed into a masculine form of dance called *geonmu* (Kor. 건무, Chin. 健舞, lit. healthy dance). Differences are seen in this dance according to region or the people who perform it but generally it contains the basic moves of shaking (*eoreugi*), cutting (*baegi*), and releasing. The arms are spread out waving the hands to the left and right and making running steps forward, then to the *eungbak kaengkaeng* rhythm, the front leg or both legs are bent and held still in the *baegi* move. This is followed by bending and stretching the knees

on the spot, holding both arms up and spreading them out and making nodding moves or moving the shoulders up and down. Compared to dances performed to short, rapid melodies or the *salpuri jangdan* featuring offbeats, *deotbaegichum* is performed to the *gutgeori jangdan* composed of regular beats so the footwork is strong and the movements are large. Compared to other dances, in *deotbaegichum* bending the knees and moving the shoulders is emphasized. After a strong *baegi* move, all the flair of the dance is carried up from the knees and released through the shoulders which move as naturally as waves, emanating a sense of masculine tolerance and broadmindedness. The powerful *hwalgaejit* (spreading the arms out) and *baegimsae* (stepping forward and putting the weight of the body on that foot, then bobbing up and down) reflect the masculine nature of the dance. In masked dance-dramas, when *deotbaegichum* is performed as a group dance a sense of unity is expressed when all dancers do the *baegimsae* move together and a sense of freedom is found in the releasing movements. This dance is performed to exhilarating rhythms and is a grand spectacle, harmonizing restrained movements of action (Kor. 동, Chin. 動) and stillness (Kor. 정, Chin. 靜) and movements that release and express exhilaration.

Deotbaegichum adds to the enjoyment of masked dance-dramas and while it separates one act from the next, one scene from the next, it is also the element that joins them together. In masked dance-dramas *deotbaegichum* can be divided into a number of dances that reflect the personality of a certain character such as the nobleman's dance (*yangbanchum*), servant's dance (*malttugichum*), leper's dance (*mundungichum*), and a type of lion dance (*yeongnochum*). When it was incorporated into the festivities for Baekjung (fifteenth day of the seventh month), it began to take clear shape as the nobleman's dance or cripple's dance (*beopbuchum*). In the Dongnae region, *deotbaegichum* becomes the sophisticated male dance *hallyangchum*, or dance of the idle nobleman. *Hallyangchum* was established as an artistic dance expressing the crane's beauty and ecology thanks to *hakchum*, the crane dance, performed in Dongnae. The greatest performances of *deotbaegichum* are the leper's dance performed by Jang Jaebong (張在鳳) in Tongyeong Ogwangdae, Malttugi's dance by Park Deokeop (朴德業) and Mun Jangin's (文章垣) *hallyangchum* in Dongnae Yaryu, and the cripple's dance by Ha Bogyong (河寶鏡) in Miryang Baekjungnori.

The movements of *deotbaegichum* are large with greater focus on expressing internal character than appearance. It is a masculine *geonmu* (energetic dance) with strong and honest footwork emanating masculine vigor and tolerance and

a sense of easy enjoyment. If the jumping dance moves, or *domu* (Kor. 도무, Chin. 跳舞, lit. jumping dance) emphasized in the dances of the northern part of the Korean peninsula express the northern characteristic of being oriented to the gods of heaven (Kor. 천신, Chin. 天神, lit. heavenly gods), then the *deotbaegichum* of Gyeongsang-do in the south with moves that run forward while pressing down hard on the ground express the southern characteristic of being oriented to the gods of the earth, or *jisin* (Kor. 지신, Chin. 地神, lit. earth gods).

The meaning and characteristics of *deotbaegichum* can be described as follows. First, performed to the *gutgeori jangdan*, *deotbaegichum* has formed the basis for the development of folk dance in the Gyeongsang-do region and is also the foundation of almost all folk arts of the region, including masked dance-drama and folk games. Second, because it does not feature small steps or the use of offbeats but is performed to regular beats (Kor. 정박, Chin. 正拍, lit. correct beat), *deotbaegichum* may seem simple, and because the movements are large it has a masculine flavor. Third, compared to ordinary dances performed to the *gutgeori*



beopbuchum | Miryang-si, Gyeongsangnam-do province | 1979 | National Folk Museum of Korea

jangdan in other folk performances, *deotbaegichum* is energetic and powerful and has the nature of *gunamu* (Kor. 구나무, Chin. 驅傩舞) a dance to expel evil spirits. Fourth, *deotbaegichum* is also called *baegimsaechum* because the dance is interspersed with the *baegimsae* move. In the case of a group dance, when everyone does this move together it exudes a delightful sense of unity and promotes a sense of community.

Geodeureumchum

거드름춤

Slow dance of three Buddhist monks making use of their robes or long sleeve ends.

This is a generic term for dances in which three Buddhist monks—Sangjiwa (novice monk), Omjung (apostate monk with scabies), and Nojang (old monk)—dance slowly and heavily to the *yeombul jangdan*, a rhythm associated with Buddhist chanting, while clutching the edge of their Buddhist robes (*jangsam*), long sleeve extensions (*hansam*), or formal gentleman's overcoat (*dopo*).

Geodeureumchum, or haughty dance, as one of the two most representative dances featured in *sandaenori* along with *kkaekgichum* is performed in the Seoul and Gyeonggi-do areas as part of masked dance-dramas such as Yangju Byeol-sandaenori and Songpa Sandaenori. The performer dances slowly holding the edge of the Buddhist monk's robe or long sleeve extensions. Hence, the name *geodeureumchum* suggests that one is putting on airs (Kor. 거드럭거린다) or swaggering (Kor. 거드름 피운다). It is presented in the form of a typical ritual dance by masked performers playing various characters such as Noseung (old monk), Pagyeseung (apostate monk), Yeonnip (monk with a lotus leaf mask), Nunk-keumjeogi (blinking man), and Sangjiwa (novice monk), who dance to a lengthy *yeombul jangdan* with verve and flair expressed in every part of the body.

Among the types of *geodeureumchum* performed to the *yeombul jangdan*, *hap-*

jangbaechum (bowing with the hands together while dancing) performed by the first novice monk is a form of ritual dance offered to the heavenly gods; it also serves as a greeting called *panbuchim* that heralds the start of the masked dance-drama. The performer takes three steps forward, bowing in turns in the four cardinal directions (north, south, east and west), which is called *sabangchigi* (lit. striking the four directions). This is a ritual dance in which the performer prays to the gods in all directions to expel miscellaneous spirits (Kor. 구나의식무, Chin. 驅儼儀式舞). *Yongteurimchum* (lit. dragon belching dance) performed by Omjung, an apostate monk with scabies, is a dance in which a dragon comes down to the earthly world and writhes, burps and yawns as it roams around to learn the ways of the world. *Hwalgaepyeogi* (dancing while stretching arms out wide) is a dance in which the dragon, which has completed its mission of looking around the world and banishing evil spirits, moves about ready to ascend to heaven. The old monk's *geodeureumchum* is composed of *bongmu* (Kor. 복무, Chin. 伏舞, lit. prostrate dance) and *galjijageoreumchum* (walking zigzag while dancing) and features the performer alternately taking three steps forward and three steps back, a move called *sammjin samtoe* (Kor. 삼진삼퇴, Chin. 三進三退).

Geodeureumchum performed in Yangju Byeolsandaenori is composed of two sequences: making a bow with the hands together (*hapjangjaebae*) as well as bowing in all four directions (*sabangchigi*). The latter is performed by Sangjwa, Omjung, and Nojang, who turn to the four cardinal points (north south east and west) in turn, lowering their upper bodies while putting one foot forward. In a movement called *palttukjabichum*, Sangjwa and Omjung use the left hand to support the elbow of the right arm as it sticks out while nodding their heads. *Sabangchigi* is a form of ritual dance that is designed to inform the gods in all four directions that evil spirits have been expelled and auspicious events will ensue. During the *palttukjabichum*, the sinful monk takes three steps backwards after signaling the musicians for a rhythm (*bullim*) while nodding his head as if he is looking around at the surroundings. *Yongteurimchum* is performed by Omjung, who whilst bowing in the four directions makes muscular movements while clutching the end of a long, black Buddhist robe so that the dragon painted on the back appears to be thrashing its way out into the world. *Neouljil* is a dance sequence presented by Omjung and Nojang, who step backwards and forwards in a way reminiscent of a dragon attempting to take flight. *Hwalgaepyeogi* is presented by Sangjwa, Omjung and Nojang, who spread both arms wide above their heads, while taking three steps back and three steps forward as if to fly,



Sideways steps of georeumgeorichum (Songpa Sandaenori)
Yongin in Gyeonggi-do Province | 2005 | National Folk Museum of Korea

while *hwalgaekkeokki* is a move in which the performers stretch their arms out to the sides, like a crane flying high with wings outstretched, then folding each arm up and down in turn. *Buchaenori* (playing with a folding fan) is a masked dance performed by Yeonnip, a monk wearing a lotus leaf mask, who wards off evil spirits as he wanders all over the place with his face covered with a folding fan. His face must be covered because those who see his glaring eyes will be killed. *Doldanchum* is performed by the blinking monk Nunkkeumjeogi as he makes the *yeonpungdae* movement, turning the body around while making a circle, to keep evil spirits away. *Bongmu* is a dance presented by the old monk, who lies down face to the ground then rises to his feet, taking three steps forward and then backward.

Geodeureumchum is a dance performed to the slow *yeombul jangdan* with verve and flair expressed by every joint of the body. Though it is performed to a rhythm carrying religious wishes, in form it consists of body gestures that express the suppressed desires (Kor. 인욕, Chin. 忍慾, lit. human desire) and struggles of the oppressed ordinary people. It is a typical ritual dance featuring the movement of three steps forward and three steps backwards and is characterized by the *palttukjabi* sequence, where the performers bow to the gods in all four directions to the slow *yeombul jangdan* with both arms open wide, without doing any jumping moves (*domu*).

In addition, the Buddhist chanting dance (*yeombulchum*) is performed by the old monk with all theatrical movements completely mimed. It is also a slow dance with simple and gentle movements. Thus, *geodeureumchum*, or haughty dance, performed to the *yeombul jangdan* assumes a strong religious flavor and is a type of ritual dance performed to expel evil spirits and promote happy events. In general, *geodeureumchum* performed in Yangju Byeolsandaenori and Songpa Sandaenori is presented in almost exactly the same form with dance movements unique to each character, such as the novice monk's bowing with hands together, the scabies-ridden monk's belching dragon dance, and the old monk's *bongmu* dance, performed lying down with face to the ground. However, the commonly used dance movements slightly differ. The *geodeureumchum* performed by Yeonnip and Nunkkeumjeogi in Songpa Sandaenori is no longer performed today.

Georeumgeorichum

걸음걸이춤

Walking steps performed with hand movements to highlight character traits.

Various types of walking steps taken by performers in *sandaenori* type masked dance-dramas performed in Songpa, Yangju and other regions to match their hand movements and express the nature of the character they are playing.

There are two types of walking steps in Songpa Sandaenori. The first is the basic *georeumgeorichum* (lit. walking dance), which means walking according to the speed and rhythm of the music. The other is walking in a way that highlights the nature of the character. Walking steps performed to the *taryeong jangdan* can be divided into three kinds: *hwalgaegeoreum*, which is four beats to one step; *kkkaekkgigeoreum* (lifting the knees up and down), which is two beats to one step; and *geondeulgeoreum*, which is one beat per step.

Hwalgaegeoreum is a kind of preparatory movement. At the end of a rhythm cycle, both knees are bent to 90 degrees so the body is in half sitting position, then on the first beat the right knee is raised high and the heel of the left foot is raised also, putting the weight on the front and raising the body (*dodeumsae*). On the second beat, the highly raised right knee is brought down in a step that is a little wider than normal and both knees are bent again. On the third beat the shoulders are lightly moved up and down. On the fourth beat, the preparatory stance is repeated, both knees very bent and the whole body lowered. When the next rhythm cycle starts, one foot is raised high and the performer walks forward in zigzag fashion. The major hand movements for *hwalgaegeoreum* are *hwajangmu* and *ginyeodaji* (long *yeodaji*).

For *kkkaekkgigeoreum*, on the first beat the right knee is raised high with the left foot on the ground and the heel lifted in the *dodeumsae* move. On the second beat the raised leg is put down again. On the third and fourth steps the same move is made with the left leg. These steps are repeated to walk forward. The hand movements for *kkkaekkichum* are *jajinhwajang*, *yeodaji*, *meongseongmari*, and *gopsawi*. For *geondeulgeoreum*, on the fourth and final beat of the *taryeong*

jangdan, the right foot is raised and put down on the ground on the first beat while raising the left foot. On the second beat the left foot is put down on the ground while the right foot is raised again. On the third and fourth beats these steps are repeated to walk forward. *Kkaekkigeoreum* is the walking step made by many characters in masked dance-dramas, including the eight depraved monks (Palmeokjung), who dance to the *taryeong jangdan*.

In contrast, walking steps according to character refer to the *georeumgeorichum* performed by each character according to its role. In Chwibari's *kkangchunggeoreum*, Chwibari holds some greenery (branches with green leaves on them) and twirls his arms around while jumping up and down, an entry step and jumping up and down with the two feet together (*modumttwigichum*). The magpie steps (*kkachigeoreum*) are performed by nobleman and monk characters such as Yeonnip, Nunkkeumjeogi, and Saennim, who cover their faces with their fans and step forward with the right foot and bring the left foot up beside it, then step forward with the right foot again. It is the same as the lame person's *georeumgeorichum* with the body bent forward and raised again. One of the most unusual walking steps is *samjin samtoe* (Kor. 삼진삼퇴, Chin. 三進三退, lit. three forward three back). The first novice monk (Sangjiwa) puts his hands together and bows to the god of heaven to the *yeombul jangdan* (rhythm), then takes three steps forward in each of the four directions and bows to the gods of the four directions. Omjung, the monk with scabies, takes three steps forward and three steps back to the *yeombul jangdan*, and Nojang, the old monk, does the same, while the noblemen Saennim, Seobangnim and Doryeonnim take three steps forward and three steps back to the *taryeong jangdan*.

Yangju Byeolsandaenori features many walking steps similar to those of Songpa Sandaenori but they are many and diverse. These include the magpie steps of Chwibari and Saennim, which are frivolous versions of the lame person's *georeumgeorichum*. In Sangjiwa's *duruchigichum*, the novice monk wraps the ends of his long coat (*dopo*) around the arms when the rhythm changes from the *yeombul jangdan* to *taryeong jangdan*, while Omjung's *jimgeorigeoreum* shows the monk with his hands clasped behind his back, shaking the shoulders up and down to the rhythm, sitting down and standing up again while flinging out and bringing in both arms. The monkey's jumping walk (*kkangchunggeoreum*) is when the monkey jumps while it walks and the old monk's zizgzag steps (*galgijachum*) is seen when the old monk walks forward while staggering around drunk. *Bitsawigeorum* is putting the right hand on the shoulder and bending the body at

an angle, and like the rooster chasing the hen the performer twists around the person performing opposite. *Anjeun georeumgeori* (lit. sitting walking steps) is clapping the hands loudly, squatting down and standing up again while bending and straightening the knees (*kkaekki*), shaking the body left to right and stretching and bending the arms (*gogaejabi*).

Most *georeumgeorichum* are general walking steps named after the moves made by the hands and the feet but some feature footwork that is rather unique compared to the hand movements and are named after the characters who perform them. General *georeumgeorichum* performed when the *yeombul jangdan* is played are three steps forward and three steps back or the zigzag step; when the *taryeong jangdan* is played *hwalgaegeoreum*, *kkaekkigeoreum* and *geondeulgeoreum*, which are accompanied by diverse hand movements. Walking steps named after certain characters include Saennim's *kkachigeoreum* (magpie steps); *kkangchun-ggeoreum* (jumping steps) of Chwibari, Malttugi, and the monkey; three steps forward and three steps back by Nojang and Omjung performed to the *yeombul jangdan*; and *yeopchigigeoreum* by Chwibari and Somu. Three steps forward and three steps back is a foot movement widely used in traditional folk performances including *pungmulnori* (farmers' percussion music), *seungjeonmu* (Buddhist drum dance) and *gamyongeuk* (masked dance-drama).

Halmichum

할미춤

Dance performed by the old woman, Halmi.

This is the dance performed by Halmi (old woman) with Yeonggam (old man, her husband) or when she is confronting his concubine. She wears a black mask, and her jacket and skirt are worn in a way that exposes her body, and she sways her bottom as she dances.

Halmichum is performed in numerous masked dance-dramas, including Bongsan Talchum, Eunyul Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, Goseong Ogwangdae, and Tongyeong Ogwangdae. In the *halmichum* of Eunyul Talchum, the old woman appears swaying her bottom from side to side to the *domburi jangdan* as she searches for her husband, who has gone sightseeing around the country. The other people who appear with Halmi in this dance are Yeonggam and Ttungttanjijip (Deolmeorijip), his concubine. The fight between the wife and the concubine over the old man is shown in a dramatic way. Halmi's joy at meeting her husband after a long time is emphasized and expressed by singing folk songs.

Ttungttanjijip then appears and when she sees Halmi and Yeonggam together she gets angry out of jealousy. In the end Halmi and Ttungttanjijip fight over Yeonggam, each claiming that he is her husband. Malttugi and Choegwari, who have been watching them, appear and say they will decide who is Yeonggam's real wife. It turns out that Halmi has been telling the truth and that she is the original wife. Ttungttanjijip gets angry and runs at Halmi. The two fight and Halmi is kicked to death by Ttungttanjijip. Yeonggam, taking pity on Halmi, calls a shaman to hold a rite to guide her soul to paradise. Through the *jinogwigut*, Halmi's grievances are consoled and the spirit of reconciliation is enhanced as the drama ends.

In Eunyul Talchum, Halmi wears a black skirt and white jacket (*jeogori*) but her belly is clearly exposed. A pair of straw shoes and her lunchbox hang at her waist. Carrying only a white handkerchief, she first appears dancing and swaying her bottom, and judging by this appearance it is hard to see her as a shaman. But in Bongsan Talchum and Gangnyeong Talchum, Halmi is presented as a shaman who appears carrying a fan decorated with a shaman dance painting in one hand a cane with a bunch of bells attached in the other. This indicates that the shaman rite (*gut*) is closely related to the lives of the people as the basis of Korean culture, and that unconscious world is also reflected in masked dance performances.

The Halmi act featuring *halmichum* has been spread all over the country. In most masked dance-dramas, when Halmi meets her husband, from who she has been separated for a long time, she stands on his body and simulates copulation. But in Eunyul Talchum, this scene is reinvented by having Halmi express her happiness at meeting her husband by singing folk songs. Also unique to Eunyul Talchum is the scene where Malttugi, representative of the common people, and Choegwari (Chwibari) appear and prove that Halmi is Yeonggam's original wife. When Halmi dies tragically after being beaten by Ttungttanjijip, the *gut* is used

as a device to lead to a new life and a new start. The *gut* held for Halmi is a rite to relieve the grudges of her aggrieved soul and guide her soul to paradise. Resolving grudges through the performance in this way serves to help the audience also find the same sort of release. Sending off Halmi properly as the act of resolving the conflicts she had while living serves as a kind of *gut* for people living in the present world.

Heoteunchum

허튼춤

Improvised dance in masked dance-dramas.

An impromptu dance performed to the *heoteun jangdan* (rhythm).

Specifically, *heoteunchum* is performed to the *heoteun taryeong jangdan*. This rhythm pattern can be divided into the *ginheoten taryeong jangdan* and the *jajinheoteun taryeong jangdan*. The former is long and slow while the latter gradually speeds up as it progresses. *Ginheoten taryeong jangdan* is vibrant and merry while *jajinheoteun taryeong jangdan* is exciting and full of humor. *Heoteunchum* is hence a dance that first proceeds slowly and gradually gets faster. A free dance with no set form or order, it is performed according to the given situation and time with the dancer making the most of his or her abilities. But as traditional entertainments came to be performed on stage, *heoteunchum* became a separate performance on its own. While the aesthetic aspects were enhanced the dance developed into one with a set form. Therefore, it can be said that *heoteunchum* was perfected in the process of moving from outdoors to the stage in an enclosed space.

However, *heoteunchum* is discussed in the framework of traditional dance because it retains tradition in the use of past dance methods (Kor. 무법, Chin. 舞法, lit. dance method), or the way the feet, hands and body are used. However, according to the period or lineage of its transmission, it is also called *ipchum*,

jeukheungchum, *heungchum*, or *gutgeorichum*. The name *ipchum* refers to the tread of the feet. The framework of the dance is set according to how the foot is put down in terms of place, direction, expression and form. The way the foot is placed shapes the whole dance and was expressed in letters with the character *ip* (立), meaning to stand. Therefore, *ipchum* is called the basic dance, that is, the basic framework for all dances. As *ipchum* is a dance that makes use of all kinds of dance methods, a person who is learning traditional Korean dance must first master *ipchum* before moving on to other dances. As an improvisational dance it is called *jeukheungchum* (lit. impromptu dance), as a dance full of excitement it is called *heungchum*, and as a dance performed to the *gutgeori jangdan* it is called *gutgeorichum*.

The costume generally consists of a skirt and jacket for women and pants, jacket and outer garment for men. The simplicity of the costume shows that it is far removed from the cumbersome. The dance is not swayed or influenced by fancy costumes or complex rhythms. *Heoteunchum* is a dance of movements of natural tension and release according to the laws of nature, each scene overflowing with vitality and leaving a deep impression.

Heoteunchum gained its present set form after the mid-20th century when dances began to be actively presented on stage. Before that time it was performed impromptu, in no particular order, according to the situation or environ-



Gunmu (group dance) | Gangbuk-gu in Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

ment. Therefore, *heoteunchum* is a standard for judging a dancer's ability and a dance that enlightens one to the principles behind certain skills. Having had a profound influence on traditional Korean dance it has the dignity and appearance of a model for traditional dance. It combines still movements and active movements and the feeling expressed with every move is different. As an improvisational dance, *heoteunchum* is more than simply a series of movements but the harmony of dance and rhythms.

Jarachum

자라춤

“Turtle dance,” performed by Somu to seduce the old monk, Nojang.

Standing on the spot, the right hand is raised to the forehead and the palms of both hands are bent backwards and forwards, then the right hand is lowered and the left hand raised to repeat the same motions. This dance is performed by Somu when seducing Nojang, the old monk.

Jarachum, or the turtle dance, is a series of hand movements featured in the Nojang act of Yangju Byeolsandaenori and Songpa Sandaenori, performed when the young women named Somu seduces the old monk. In Songpa Sandaenori, when the old monk is lying down and dancing (Kor. 복무, Chin. 伏舞, lit. prostrate dance), two Somu come and stand on either side of him and begin to perform *jarachum*. Looking at him, they make hand motions as if calling him. The dance is performed to the *yeombul jangdan* (rhythm) or the *gutgeori jangdan*. In Songpa Sandaenori, the dance is performed to a long, 12-beat *yeombul jangdan*. On the first and second beats, both hands are raised, the right hand to the forehead and the left hand held out to the side. On the third and fourth beats the hands are bent backwards with the palms facing the monk. On the fifth and sixth beats both hands are closed to make a fist pointing downwards. On the

seventh and eighth beats the hands are bent backwards with the palms facing the monk. On the ninth and tenth beats, both hands are closed again to make a fist pointing downwards. On the eleventh beat the hands are opened and on the twelfth beat both hands are completely lowered pointing to the ground. When the next rhythm pattern is played, the same dance is repeated, starting with the left hand this time. This sequence of hand motions and fist motions is repeated three times each. *Jarachum* is also performed to the six-beat *yeombul jangdan*, which is a contraction of the twelve-beat version. As both hands are repeatedly opened and closed when *jarachum* is performed to the *yeombul jangdan*, it is called *joemchum*, meaning “tightening dance.”

In Yangju Byeolsandaenori, two Somu stand on either side of the old monk as he lies prostrate and perform *jarachum* to the six-beat *yeombul jangdan* to seduce him. When the hand is raised on the first beat, the hem of the *kwaeja* (long, sleeveless vest) is raised and released and the palm of the hand is raised to the forehead. On the second beat the hand is bent backwards with the palm facing forward, on the third beat the hand is bent forward so the palm faces downwards, and on the fourth beat the hand is bent back again to show the palm. When the next rhythm cycle begins the same motions are repeated with the left hand. During the dance, the other hand is lowered to hold the hem of the *kwaeja* and, standing on the spot, the body is slightly bent and straightened to the beat. When performed to the four-beat *taryeong jangdan*, the hand is raised to the forehead on the first beat, the hand is bent backward to show the palm on the second beat, then bent forward on the third beat and lowered on the fourth beat.

Jara means “turtle” and has similar symbolism to the tortoise. As it has a long life and can live both in the water and on land, the turtle has been considered sacred as a symbol of longevity and fecundity. Moreover, the head is considered to be divine and also symbolizes the male reproductive organ. When the turtle or tortoise sticks its head out it symbolizes a male, and when it draws the head in it symbolizes a female, which is why the two animals symbolize fecundity and are used to depict sexual intercourse. Therefore, *jarachum* is a hand motion dance that Somu uses to seduce the old monk, expressing through dance the sexual act and sexual organs symbolized by the head of the turtle or tortoise. Moreover, *jarachum* and the motions of opening and closing the fists (*joemchum*) are the only means that can be used by Somu, a silent (Kor. 무언, Chin. 無言, lit. no words) character, to play the flirt and seduce the old monk.

Kkaekkichum

깨끼춤

Various dance steps and hand movements performed to the *taryeong jangdan*.

A generic term for a varied range of dance movements combining *kkaekkigeoreum* with diverse hand movements performed to the *taryeong jangdan* (rhythm), as featured in *sandaenori* performances such as Songpa Sandaenori and Yangju Byeolsandaenori.

Kkaekkichum performed to the *taryeong jangdan* is the basic dance of *sandaenori* performances such as Songpa Sandaenori and Yangju Byeolsandaenori in Seoul and Gyeonggi-do Province and is used to work up fun and excitement. It is generally used in group dances by commoner characters such as the eight depraved monks (Palmeokjung), Chwibari and Malttugi. The word *kkaekki* comes from expressions meaning “to cut down” such as *kkaekkinda*, *kkangneunda*, *kkakkanaerinda* or “to cut down and remove” such as *kkakkaopsaenda*. It combines various hand movements while walking or standing on the spot. In Songpa Sandaenori, all dance moves performed to the *yeombul jangdan* are called *geodeureumchum*, all those performed to the *taryeong jangdan* are called *kkaekkichum*, and all those performed to the *gutgeori jangdan* are called *geodeureongchum*. *Kkaekkichum* includes a wide variety of movements, including *hwajangmu*, *banhwajangmu*, *jajinhwajang*, *gopsawi*, *yeodaji*, *yeodaji eoreugi*, *ginyeodaji*, *baechigi yeodaji*, *baechigi*, *hwajang baechigi*, *eokkaechigi*, *yeonpungdaengi* (*yeonpungdae*), *doldani*, *geoulbogi*, *palttukjabi*, *meongseongmari*, *deolmijabi*, *jarachum*, *jangdanmeokgi*, *gungdungchigi*, *baechum*, *galjijachum morachigi*, *jangsamchigi*, and *hansamchigi*. Major walking steps used in *kkaekkichum* are magpie steps performed by the Yangban and Chwibari, *bitsawi*, the zigzag step, *dwitjimgeoreum*, cute monkey dance, *hwal-gaegoreum geondeulgeoreum*, and *kkeongchumgeoreum*.

While *kkaekkichum*, *kkaekki* and *kkaekkiri*, and *kkaekkigeoreum* are all similar terms they all have different meanings. *Kkaekkichum* is an umbrella term for all dances performed to the *taryeong jangdan*. It thus includes *kkaekki*, *kkaekkiri*, and *kkaekkigeoreum*. That is, if *kkaekkichum* is a type of dance, then *kkaekki*

and *kkaekkiri* are dances that belong to that category. *Kkaekki* is the basic dance of Yangju Byeolsandaenori. The term is not used in Songpa Sandaenori, where the corresponding dances are called *hwajangmu* and *jajinhwajang*. *Kkaekki* is a dance where one knee is raised and various hand movements such as *jajinhwajang*, *eoreugi*, *yeodaji*, and *palttukjabi*, and *hwajang* are made while standing on the other foot. This is maintained for a few rhythm cycles, then the other knee is raised and standing on the other foot the same hand movements are repeated. It is usually performed on the spot and face to face (Kor. 대무, Chin. 對舞, lit. opposite dance) with another dancer and looks as if one is doing sign language. *Kkaekkigeoreum* is one step performed over two beats to the *taryeong jangdan*, raising one knee and stepping forward and doing the same with the other leg. It is the major walking step used in *kkaekkichum*.

Kkaekkichum in Yangju Byeolsandaenori is also performed to the four-beat *taryeong jangdan*. This dance involves a wide variety of movements, including *jejari kkaekki* (dancing on the spot), *eotssaegi kkaekki* (walking forward crossing one foot over the other), *godeunchigi kkaekki* (moving forwards while continually narrowing the space between the feet), *nojang kkaekki* (a wriggly step, walking forward crossing the feet over each other while swinging the monastic robe around), *heorijabi*, *mokjabi*, *meongseongmari*, *neouljil*, *gogaejabi*, *yeodaji*, *gopsawi*, *kkaekkiri*, *jarachum*, *eokkaechum*, *palttukjabi*, *kkachigeoreum* (magpie steps), *Chwibari kkachigeoreum*, *yangban kkachigeoreum*, *bitsawigeoreum*, *galjijageoreum* (walking zigzag), *jimgeorigeoreum*, *wonsungigeoreum* (monkey walk), and *duruchigigeoreum*. It is also a part of *daenamu samjin samtoe* (Kor. 삼진삼퇴, Chin. 三進三退, lit. three forward three backward).

The movements of *kkaekkichum* are restrained and involve many hand movements that reflect martial arts and farming movements. They are small, delicate movements with a clear beginning and end.

The representative movements of *kkaekkichum* are *kkaekki* (cutting dance) of Yangju Byeolsandaenori and *hwajangmu* (*jajinhwajang*) of Songpa Sandaenori. Though their names differ they are basic movements of the same type with their own set of sub-movements. Aside from these there are other basic movements common to certain characters such as Sangjwa's *palttukjabi* and *duruchigi* (*hansamchigi*), Somu's *jarachum* (turtle dance), Omjung's *jangsamchigi*, and the Yangban's magpie steps. Also, unlike the jumping and striding steps of Haeseo Talchum performances, *kkaekkichum* is characterized by *dodeumsae*, that is, steps where the heel is lifted and the weight is placed on the ball of the foot.

Malttugichum

말뚝이춤

Dance performed by Malttugi.

The dance performed by the servant Malttugi, a symbol of the common people's resistance to the ruling class, as he clashes with the Yangban (nobleman), his ruling class master.

Malttugichum appears in numerous masked dance-dramas, including Bongsan Talchum, Eunyul Talchum, Yangju Byeolsandaenori, Goseong Ogwangdae, Gasan Ogwangdae, and Dongnae Yaryu.

The highlight of this dance is when Malttugi and the Yangban dance face to face. The dance of Malttugi and Yangban, depicting satire and exposure, liberation and freedom, shows Malttugi clashing with the Yangban to relieve age-old conflict with the ruling class and is hence a dance of tension and release.

The group dance features six people, four incompetent Yangban and two servants called Malttugi, who mix singing and dialogue as they dance. The oldest Yangban wears white pants and jacket (*jeogori*), puttees (*haengjeon*) and a grey monastic robe (*jangsam*). He has a jade-colored tasseled belt around his waist and carries a cane and a fancy folding fan. He wears a mask and a hat made of doghide on his head. The second Yangban is dressed basically the same way but he holds a white fan and cane and has a horsehair cap on his head. The third Yangban, named Jemul Daegam, is dressed in white pants and jacket, puttees, and a jade-colored overcoat (*dopo*). He has a tasseled belt around his waist, carries a flower-decorated fan and has a red hat on his head. The youngest Yangban, named Doryeong, wears white pants and jacket, a navy blue *kwaeja* (long, sleeveless vest) and a tasseled belt around his waist. He carries a white fan, has a mask on his face, and wears a hood (*bokgeon*) on his head. The two Malttugi are dressed in red *deogeure* (short military coat) and hold sticks in their hands.

Malttugichum is a mixture of a variety of dances such as the *jangsamchum*, *bu-chaechum* (fan dance), *jipangichum* (cane dance), *byeongsinchum* (cripple's dance), and Malttugi's *hansamchum* (dance with long sleeve extensions) and *chaejjikchum*



Malttugi (Suyeong Yaryu) | National Folk Museum of Korea

(whip dance). The nobleman's dance (*yangbanchum*) is a slow, still dance and by twirling the sleeves of the robe above the head the noblemen attempt to show off their dignity. The movements are very limited throughout, and rather than showing off their dignity the actions are slightly stupid looking, which conveys the incompetence of the noblemen. In contrast, the vibrant *hansamchum* performed by Malttugi highlights the bold behavior of the servants. Malttugi's dance featuring *chaejjikchum* using the horseman's whip to beat the noblemen and *hansamchum* to express ridicule for them is dynamic and energetic.

Malttugichum has a dualistic structure of strong and weak where, within the context of conflict between the ruling class and the ruled, one side is ruined or glorified by the other side. Therefore, the *yangban* are disgraced by Malttugi and their dance features backward and retreating moves, while Malttugi rises from a dark place to a bright place in a dance that is progressive. Hence, the noblemen's dance is feeble and awkward as they continuously lose to Malttugi, while Malttugi's dance is powerful and energetic. For example, when Malttugi takes the whip and beats the noblemen they complain but do not strike back in any way or take any countermeasures. In addition, the jumping moves of Malttugi, where he soars up from the ground and returns to the ground again, represents ascension to the supernatural world and return to reality. *Palttukgeodgichum* (rolling up the long sleeve extensions), expressing sentiments such as "I'll kick your nose" or "screw you" (*yeotmeogeora*, lit. eat taffy), is seen only in the dance by Malttugi, symbol and spokesman for the ordinary people. This is because Malttugi's dance is more progressive than the noblemen's dance and at the same time a dance expressing the will for liberation. The dualistic progress of the dance, starting with conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed, eventually ends with a dance of harmony where the two sides are reconciled. Therefore, the essence of Malttugi's dance with its duality, ambiguity, complexity, and harmony, is to expose contradictions and absurdities and rise above them with dance performed in the spirit of reconciliation and harmony.

Meokjungchum

먹중춤

Dance performed by the depraved monks.

The dance of the fallen monks, or depraved monks called Meokjung, who brandish their long sleeve extensions (*hansam*) about in various ways and dance in their own individual fashion, making a running move with one leg straight up in the air.

Meokjungchum in Eunyu Talchum is performed by eight depraved monks (Palmeokjung), each of the monks entering in turn, speaking different lines and calling out for different rhythms (*bullim*). As this dance contains the greatest number of basic movements, it is the basis of Eunyu Talchum. The depraved monks wear a red demon-faced mask with three lumps on it, one on the forehead and one on each of the cheeks. They wear a luxurious *deogeure* (short military coat) with a long red band on the right leg and blue one on the left leg, and a yellow sash around the waist. Long *hansam* are attached to the end of the sleeves and as the monks dance they fling them forward, brandish them about and gather them together.

Each of the eight depraved monks enters making jokes and performing dance moves that reflect his individual character. The dance is characterized by the way the monks all remain dancing together until the eighth monk has joined them. This is a point of difference with Bongsan Talchum where each time a new monk appears he hits the preceding monk with his *hansam* and makes him leave. The first depraved monk has the longest set of lines to speak. His part is marked by the recital of his travelogue, or *nojeonggi* (Kor. 노정기, Chin. 路程記, lit. record of a journey on the road), listing all the places he has been to.

From the appearance of the first monk to the eighth monk, each depraved monk does his own special dance moves and when all eight have gathered they perform a group dance called *mutdongchum*. Then following the lead of the first monk they leave, making the shape of the *taegeuk* (great absolute) mark as they go. The dance depicts the situation of the monks who should be at the temple



Palmeokjungchum (dance of the eight depraved monks) | National Theater of Korea in Seoul | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

cultivating the Way but have not been able to resist the temptations of the secular world and have come down from the mountains to the performance space. Although the Meokjung are fallen monks from the eight provinces, their powerful dance moves infuse the masked dance-drama performance with fun and excitement.

Among the six acts of Eunyul Talchum, dance accounts for a large proportion of the act devoted to dance of the depraved monks. The *meokjungchum* act features the basic dance movements of masked dance-drama. The upper body movements are characterized by the way the sleeve extensions are thrown forward and backward, then crossed over the chest and then spread out to the sides. In the lower body movements, one leg is raised straight into the air but the toes are pointed downwards, making a natural, comfortable looking move, in contrast to a similar move in Bongsan Talchum where the raised leg is turned outwards with the toes pointing upwards. Another unique feature is that all the eight depraved monks wear a peaked hat decorated with three flowers. As for their

costume, the monks all wear a colorful *deogeure* but each in his own way. Around the waist they wear a yellow sash, one of the five colors of the five directions, to secure the center, and a long red band on the right leg and a blue one on the left leg to achieve harmony of yin and yang. One of the major features of their costume is the way stripes in the five colors of the five directions, yellow, blue, red, white and black, are painted on either side of each of the three lumps on the mask, expressing the philosophy of yin and yang and the five elements (*eumyang ohaeng*).

Mundung Talchum

문둥탈춤

Dance performed by Mundungi, who suffers leprosy.

A unique dance performed by the leprosy sufferer (Mundungi) who appears in *yaryu* (Kor. 야류, Chin. 野遊, lit. field play) and *ogwangdae* (Kor. 오광대, Chin. 五廣大, lit. five clowns) performances of the Gyeongsangnam-do region, marked by its strongly realistic expression and improvisational quality.

Mundung talchum can be studied in two categories: Dongnae Yaryu, performed in the Busan area east of the Nakdong River, and Tongyeong Ogwangdae, Goseong Ogwangdae, Jinju Ogwangdae and Gasan Ogwangdae performed in the Gyeongsangnam-do region west of the river. Due to the climate, many cases of leprosy, or *nabyeong* (Kor. 나병, Chin. 癩病), occurred in the Gyeongsang-do region and the leper's dance became established as a unique performance that could not be seen in the masked dance-dramas of other regions. Indeed, it is only found in *yaryu* or *ogwangdae* masked dance-dramas.

In the leper's act of these performances, *mundung talchum* has almost no dramatic elements compared to other masked dances, consisting of dance from start to finish. Generally, the leper appears with hands and feet shaking. Notable



Mundung Talchum (Dongnae Yaryu) | Dongnae-gu, Busan | 1999 | National Folk Museum of Korea

are the unusual dance moves that give expression to the leper, such as the way he blows his nose, closing his hand over it, and rubs his knees, and the grotesque way that he runs and dances briskly, carrying a hand-held drum (*sogo*).

Mundung talchum is filled with movements from beginning to end that show the leper is not sound in body. These unusual dance movements and expression of emotions leave a strong impression. In this way, the leper's dance reflects in a direct yet sophisticated way the joys and sorrows of human instinct, which is not seen in other masked dances. As a dance with a strong regional nature that is commonly found in *yaryu* and *ogwangdae* performances, it contains a complex form of innate beauty. Those innate aesthetic aspects can be studied according to four forms or attitudes: the sad attitude (Kor. 비탄태, Chin. 悲嘆態), a kind of tragic beauty that contains the emotions of sorrowful, gruesome anguish; the attitude of resignation (Kor. 체념태, Chin. 諦念態), which is submission in the face of uncontrollable forces; the optimistic attitude (Kor. 낙천태, Chin. 樂天態), pursuit of the joy of life through return to the pure human state where the leper forgets about his bodily discomfort; and finally the self realization attitude (Kor. 자각태, Chin. 自覺態), which means the leper realizes the limitations of his body and achieves self-realization.

The characteristics and significance of *mundung talchum* are as follows. First, the dance is performed to the *gutgeori jangdan* (rhythm) played by percussion instruments in the *pungmulnori* style. Second, the dance moves are realistic staggering moves (*biteulsawi*), rolling moves (*dwinggulsawi*), itching moves (*geunjilsawi*) and nose blowing moves (*kopulsawi*), and at the same time they are a symbolic expression of inevitable human sadness and happiness. Third, rather than being a formal dance the leper's dance is improvisational and all-encompassing, emphasizing its very human style. Fourth, the dance takes the basic form of overcoming a tragic situation with humor and reflects the people's sentiments by relieving their weary lives in an optimistic way.

Sangjwachum

상좌춤

Dance performed by the novice monks.

A ritual dance to expel evil spirits (Kor. 벽사, Chin. 辟邪, lit. exorcise demons) handed down as part of *sandaenori* and Haeseo Talchum performances, *sangjwachum* features the novice monks bowing with hands together to the gods of the four directions (Kor. 사방신, Chin. 四方神).

Commonly seen in *sandaenori* and Haeseo Talchum, this dance is called *heot-mokjungchum* in Eunyu Talchum, seemingly because it was often performed without wearing masks. One novice monk (Sangjwa) appears in Eunyu Talchum, two in Gangnyeong Talchum, and four in Bongsan Talchum. They dance flinging their robes forwards and backwards or swinging them around to the



Sangjwa act (Songpa Sandaenori) | Songpa-gu in Seoul | 2013 | National Folk Museum of Korea

music, which starts with the slow *yeombul jangdan* (rhythm) and moves on to the *neuttaryeong jangdan* and *jajeun taryeong jangdan*.

The costume worn in *sangjwachum* is very similar to that of *seungmu* (monk's dance), which is considered to be the acme of Korean folk dance. Also, many of the movements of *seungmu* seem to be reflected in the novice monk's dance. A characteristic unique to Euyul Talchum is that the novice monks wear a peaked hat decorated with three flowers, have a red kasaya robe (*gasa*) draped over both shoulders, and wear white pants.

Though a solo dance, *sangjwachum* well conveys its religious nature as ritual dance to expel evil spirits. The same ritual aspect is found in the lion's dance (*sajachum*) that signals the start of a masked dance-drama. The lion's dance is thus significant as an act that opens the performance and sets the atmosphere. As a dance performed to pay respects to the gods of the four directions (Kor. 사방, Chin. 四方, lit. four directions) who drive away evil spirits by bowing to them (Kor. 배례, Chin. 拜禮, lit. salutation rite), the novice monks' dance has a religious and ritual nature (Kor. 의식성, Chin. 儀式性, lit. ritual character). This reflects the spread of *cheoyongmu* (dance of Cheoyong) and other ritual dances performed as part of exorcism rites, or *narye* (Kor. 나례, Chin. 儺禮, lit. exorcism rite), from the court to ordinary homes and the fusion of such dances with those featured in folk entertainments. That is, dances to expel evil, or *gunamu* (Kor. 고나무, Chin. 驅儺舞, lit. exorcising demons dance) were combined with dances reporting to the gods, or *gosinmu* (Kor. 고신무, Chin. 告神舞, lit. deity informing dance).

To describe the process of *sangjwachum*, one novice monk puts his hands together and moves to the center of the performance space to the rhythm that goes “*deong, deong, deong*,” and when he reaches the center the rhythm changes to the *yeombul jangdan*. The monk bows with hands together to the front, right, back and left to pay respects to the gods of the four directions and signal the start of the dance. Then he dances using the hem of his monastic robe, flinging it outwards, hanging it over the shoulder, flinging it forwards and backwards, winding it, and spreading it out again. These movements, which impart a sense of gravity and delicacy, are performed to the *yeombul jangdan* and *taryeong jangdan*. Finally, dancing to the *jajeun taryeong jangdan* the novice monk makes a big circle and leaves.

The novice monk's dance appears in the act devoted to expelling evil spirits in Euyul Talchum, and is also performed in *sandaenori* and Haeso Talchum. The

novice monk wears a white mask, white peaked hat, and white monastic robe with a red kasaya draped over both shoulders. The three flowers on the peaked hat and the red robe are features unique to the novice monk's costume in Eunyul Talchum. The costume, number of dancers, and dance movements of masked dance-dramas differ according to region but they share the aim of purification and getting rid of evil and misfortune from all four directions.

Considering the dance movements that make use of the monastic robe, it is clear that *sangjwachum* was influenced by Buddhism. Also, as a ritual dance that was not performed at a special place or time but to ward off misfortune in the spaces of everyday life and pray for the communal wishes of the village, it has a ceremonial and religious nature. Even today, before the start of any event Koreans hold a shamanic rite called *gosa* or a religious ceremony to pray for the success of the event. The novice monk's dance is meaningful as a dance that reflects Buddhist religious faith and shamanic ritual, and thus touches on real life.

Sisittakttagichum

시시딱딱이춤

Dance performed by two Sisittakttagi in Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk.

The dance of two Sisittakttagi, who appear in the third act of Gangneung Gwanno Gamyongeuk, wear frightening masks intended to expel evil spirits (Kor. 벽사, Chin. 辟邪, lit. exorcise demons) and brandish swords as they dance.

Sisittakttagi wear masks of the five colors of the five directions and enter from either side of the performance space doing a powerful sword dance. Jealous of the relationship between Yangban Gwangdae (masked nobleman) and Somae Gaksi, they plot to interfere, sometimes separating them by pushing them about. After separating Yangban Gwangdae and Somae Gaksi, they tease Yangban Gwangdae on one side and mock Somae Gaksi on the other. They ask Somae Gaksi to dance with them but she refuses.



Sisittakktagi act | Gangneung in Gangwon-do Province | 2014 | National Folk Museum of Korea

The major movements of *sisittakktagichum* are as follows.

- ① *Hoedori kalchum* (sword brandishing dance): This is a threatening sword dance performed by holding the sword in the right hand, stretching the arm out and then bending it again repeatedly. For eight steps, the sword is swung to the left side and then the right side. To the *samchae jangdan* the Sisittakktagi run in from either side of the performance space and cut across the center. Performing *hoedori kalchum* they make a half circle, moving in counter clockwise direction, and switch places.
- ② *Gasechigi* (scissor dance): *Gase* refers to scissors. The two feet are brought together like scissors and the legs are bent. From this squatting position the arms are hung down and gathered together, and while jumping up into the air the arms are thrown out to form the X-shape and raised straight into the air. As the most difficult of the dance movements, *gasechigi* is considered representative of the powerful Sisittakktagi dance. This move is repeated for two cycles of the *samchae jangdan*.

- ③ *Eoreugi* (shaking): With both arms spread out at shoulder height the right foot is placed in front and the left foot at the back, and the head and wrists are shaken hard to the left and right. The arms are again raised to shoulder height, the right foot is kicked up sideways and then the left leg, and the head is shaken on the left side and right side. This move is repeated and is the major move used when the Sisittakttagi try to persuade Somae Gaksi to dance with them.
- ④ Basic movements: Both arms are raised to shoulder height then spread out to the sides and the shoulders are moved inwards and outwards, left side and right side in turn. Standing on the spot, the right foot and left foot are raised to the side at an angle in turn for half a rhythm cycle each time. This is a shoulder dance with elements of *mudongchum* (dance by child performers) applied.

Other movements include sword fighting moves, sideways steps, clapping hands, circling while holding hands, *jwauchigi* (moving in a circle, pausing for a while, moving three steps to the left and then to the right, forward and backward), and raising and hitting the knees.

The movements of *sisittakttagichum* reflect the lives and symbolism of the people that is embedded in the dance. These aspects are evident in the sword dance (*kalchum*), where the characters wear fearsome masks decorated with the five colors of the five directions and brandish swords painted in red clay to chase away misfortune; *jegaeneunchum*, where they try to break up the lovers; and *neouljilchum*, where they try to seduce Somae Gaksi.

Fitting for a duet, the Sisittakttagi dance has contrast between the composition of the dance and the spatial composition and many of the movements are performed while moving around the four directions for the benefit of the audience. Also, there is repetition of moves such as the clashing and swinging of swords, which emphasize the expulsion of evil, and jumping moves.

Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeonggeuk, the only silent masked dance-drama in Korea, is derived from village rites to the tutelary deity (*seonangje*), which has many dance elements. Leading the performance with its dramatic and impromptu elements, the Sisittakttagi dance induces audience participation, while interference in the relationship between Yangban Gwangdae and Somae Gaksi creates dramatic tension.

Unsimge Jakbeop

운심게작법

Buddhist ritual dance.

This is a form of *nabichum* (butterfly dance) embodying the idea of repaying debts of gratitude (Kor. 보은, Chin. 報恩, lit. recompensate kind acts) to the Buddha, a ritual dance performed to propagate Buddhism.

Unsimge Jakbeop is a ritual dance performed during Buddhist ceremonies when offerings are made to the Buddha. The term *unsim* means repentance of one's sins when receiving the bodhisattva precepts, and overall the dance contains the idea of repaying debts of gratitude to the Buddha. The compositional elements of the dance are described as follows.

- ① Music: The music used in Unsimge Jakbeop is instrumental music including the four percussion instruments known as *samul* (lit. four things) and Sanskrit sounds from the *Unsimgongyang* mantra. The main instruments used include the *bara* (cymbals), *taejing* (large gong), *hojeok* (double-reed wind instrument) and *beopgo* (dharma drum). Unsimge Jakbeop is divided into two parts, before and after, and the music differs accordingly. The first part is again divided into front and back sections. In the front section, *eojang seunim*, referring to the monk who teaches Buddhist chants and songs, recites *Unsimgyejinon* in Sanskrit in a monotone. This is followed by music featuring the *bara*, *beopgo*, and *hokjeok* to the *taejing jangdan* (rhythm).
- ② Movements: The movements for Unsimge Jakbeop can be divided into eight groups: *haphwa*, moves where all the performers gather together (preparing to gather, preparing to make a half bow) to signal the beginning or end; *yosin*, bending and stretching the knees (bending the knees with both arms spread out, waving the body with both arms stretched out, bending the knees with both arms spread out then holding the breath and rising); *jeonjin*, forward moves (moving forward with left and right hands raised to shoulder height, moving forward obliquely and waving the body); *hoejeon*, turning moves (moving forward with left and right hands raised to shoulder height, making a half turn



Unsimge Jakbeop | Outdoor yard of the Geochang Culture Center | 2012 | National Folk Museum of Korea

and then a full turn); *gwejwa*, bending the knees and the body slightly forward (straightening the shoulders then bending the knees and bending over, straightening the shoulders then flinging the hands out and sitting down); *tajo*, holding a flower with hands together and waving the flower up and down (waving the flower up and down with the left and right hands in turn, waving the flower up and down in standing position); moves that involve snapping the hand behind the head holding a flower; and holding the hands out horizontally with shoulders straight.

- ③ Costume: The basic costume is white or grey pants and jacket with a white monastic robe (*jangsam*) and a kasaya robe on top. A red tassel called *yeongja* (Kor. 영자, Chin. 纓子) is used to fix the robes on the body. On the head the monks wear a yellow peaked hat embroidered with various designs such as carp or cranes symbolizing the Buddha (Kor. 불보, Chin. 佛寶, lit. Buddha jewel) and the dharma (Kor. 법보, Chin. 法寶, lit. law jewel), two of the three jewels of Buddhism. In both hands they hold a light pink lotus made of paper or a pink peony.

Buddhism is the major foreign religion introduced to Korea. It was transmitted to the country via India and China and various ritual activities were devised to

enlighten the masses. In the process, Buddhism was merged with the already existing native shamanic culture to form the basis of traditional Korean culture.

Manseokjung nori, which is performed on Buddha's birthday (eighth day of the fourth lunar month) is performed in the form of Buddhist rituals, including the song "Hwacheong" (Kor. 화청, Chin. 和請, lit. singing request), chants and songs (*beompae*), and Unsimgae Jakbeop. In Manseokjung nori, a shadow puppet play featuring a monk named Manseok, the only dance performed by a human is Unsimgae Jakbeop. This dance has a strongly feminine flavor expressed in the formation of curved rather than straight lines, and the eyes focused on the toes and a gentle smile on the face during the dance. The movements are all very similar in form but they have been handed down reflecting aspects of the culture of each region. Among them, the dance movements of the Yeongnam region are gentle yet strong, the dance implements are large and ornamental, and the rhythms are fast and merry. In the Honam and Gyeonggi-do regions, the dance movements and implements are simple but with a strong folk art feel, while the dance rhythms are *yukjabaegi* (six-beat) rhythms and the songs in *pansori* (solo narrative song) style.

The special spirit of Korean dance is described as movement within stillness (Kor. 정중동, Chin. 靜中動). In Unsimgae Jakbeop, the gathering (*haphwa*) and knee bending movements (*yosin*) show stillness; the turning, shoulder straightening and flower waving moves represent "within," and the forward moving, knee bending with body forward (*gweja*) and hand flinging movements show movement. The movements that warrant the most attention are the *gwejwa* group. These movements on bended knees make the dance come more alive for the viewers. They represent the unity of heaven, man and earth. The dance movements of Unsimgae Jakbeop thus contain aesthetic elements that symbolize the life force of a people who love the land, while the idea of unity of heaven, earth and man is one of the core philosophies of Korean culture and holds great meaning in the history of Korean art and culture.

The image shows a close-up of a handcrafted sculpture, possibly made of wood or clay, with a dark red, glossy finish. The sculpture features several distinct sections: a top section with diagonal stripes of yellow and green, a large white, teardrop-shaped opening with a black interior, and various areas decorated with green and black dots. The word "TERMS" is printed in a black, serif font in the upper left quadrant.

TERMS

Aksa

악사

Professional musician performing in folk drama and shaman rites.

Professional musician who plays music in various performances such as masked dance-dramas and *gut nori* (drama performed with shaman rites).

Aksa (Kor. 악사, Chin. 樂士, lit. musician) in traditional Korean folk music performances, mostly male, were hereditary musicians from families that had been musicians for generations. Many of them the descendants of shamans, they played a wide range of music not only for shaman rites or masked dance-dramas but also the events of local government offices or Buddhist rites.

Most *aksa* in the Seoul and Gyeonggi-do region of Korea were hereditary musicians on the paternal side. Although they may not be of shaman lineage anymore, these musicians also play *muak* (Kor. 무악, Chin. 巫樂, lit. shaman music). They are hence closely related to shamans and many of them have come from shaman families. The shaman rites performed in Seoul would have featured a figure called *aksadangju* (Kor. 악사당주, Chin. 樂士堂主, lit. musician-master of the shrine), who took charge of the music. In general, when *dangju* (master of the shrine) sets a date for a shaman rite (*gut*), he asks a musician-master to invite not only other musicians but also *mansin* (Kor. 만신, Chin. 萬神, ten thousand gods), a female shaman to preside over the rite. When inviting *aksa* and *mansin*, the musician-master takes into account the expenses and size of the rite. Not only is the musician-master responsible for managing the musicians and female shamans, he also has to coordinate the musicians to play the music so that the rite proceeds smoothly. Since the musician-master is responsible for financial matters of the shaman rite, he even takes charge of paying the other musicians and female shamans.

A characteristic of the shaman rites performed in Gyeonggi-do Province is that male hereditary shaman musicians called *hwaraengi* participate in various types of rites. For example, in the *bujeonggut* (purification rite) intended to purify the space for the rite, the *hwaraengi* sings *anjeunbujeong* (a type of shaman song



"Playing Five Tones and Six Pitches" from Gisan Genre Paintings | Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University

sung in a seated pose) to the accompaniment of his *janggo* (or *janggu*, hourglass-shaped drum). Also, in *doldori* (ritual circling of the village to ward off evil spirits), male musicians undertake the role of expelling miscellaneous ghosts while singing shaman songs and dancing. In addition, among the *dodanggut* (village shaman rites) performed in Gyeonggi-do Province, male musicians are responsible for several of the *geori* (acts or sequences) such as *gunungnojeonggi* (Gunwung god coming from China to the *gut*), *junggut* (monk's rite), and *dwitjeon* (last song of a shaman rite). It is said that in *teobullim*, the largest act performed by *hwaraengi*, over 10 male musicians appeared to present acrobatic performances and tightrope walking. These days, however, in the performance of the shaman rites of Gyeonggi-do Province there are almost no musicians who have properly inherited the art of shaman ritual music.

Aksa in regions south of Chungcheong-do Province basically formed a *sam-beonyukgak*³⁶ (Kor. 삼현육각, lit. three strings and six horns) ensemble. Because of their preference for lower tones, musicians in Jeollanam-do Province use the *jeotdae* (large bamboo flute) more frequently than the *piri* (reed flute), and the *ajaeng* (seven-stringed bowed zither) rather than the *haegeum* (two-stringed fiddle). The music played by such an ensemble was usually called *sinawi*. "Namdo Samhyeon" was played by the traditional wind and string ensemble or the music called *geosangak*³⁷ (Kor. 거상악, Chin. 舉床樂) in the southern region in the past. However, it is no longer played often today. In the *byeolsinggut*, a type of village shaman rite performed on the south coast of Korea, handed down mostly in Tongyeong and Geoje, the music is still played with the *ajaeng* in addition to the *sambeonyukgak* instruments.

In the shaman rites performed on the east coast of Korea, music is played only with percussion instruments such as *kkwaenggwari* (small gong), *jing* (big gong), *janggu*, and *jegeum* (brass cymbals) without any melody instruments. Since the introduction of *hojeok* (or *taepyeongso*, double-reed wind instrument) to the shaman rites in the eastern region by the deceased Kim Seokchul, a musician and title holder of Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 82-ga, it has often been played in recent shaman rites held in the region. In the shaman rites of the eastern coast, the male musician who is responsible for general affairs regarding performance of the rite is called *geumjul*.

As in shaman rites, the musicians in a masked dance-drama basically play in a wind and string ensemble in the Seoul, Gyeonggi and Haeseo regions of the country. In *byeolsandaenori* performed in the Seoul and Gyeonggi region, the

small gong, large gong, and *taepyeongso* are added to the traditional ensemble. In masked dance-dramas performed in the Haeseo region as well, the musicians basically form *samhyeonyukgak*, where *samhyeon* is called *saemyeon* (mistaken rendering of *samhyeon*), and the *aksa* are called *jaebi*. Recently, however, it is rare to see a proper *samhyeonyukgak* being organized.

Yaryu or *ogwangdae*, the terms for masked dance-dramas performed in Gyeongsang-do Province, are now accompanied by percussion music only. In the past, however, traditional instruments such as *daepiri* (large flute) were included in the musical band for *ogwangdae* in Tongyeong. As *aksa* were called *saemyeon* it seems that in the past *samhyeonyukgak* ensembles were organized for masked dance-dramas in this region also.

In Bukcheong Sajanori performed in Hamgyeong-do Province, *tungso* (six-holed bamboo flute) is used in addition to the percussion instruments, such as *janggu*, *buk* (barrel drum), and *jing*. Bukcheong Sajanori is currently the only traditional performance of this genre where the *tungso* is played.

Most *aksa* in traditional Korean folk music performances are male hereditary musicians. These musicians undertake an important role in folk music performances such as shaman rites, masked dance-dramas, and plays. They were better versed in music than shamans or masked dance-drama performers, and also played the important role of taking responsibility for the financial aspect of the performances. Therefore, taking a look at these musicians called *aksa* enables a wider understanding not only of the music but also the cultural context of traditional Korean folk music performances.

36. Ensemble consisting of traditional Korean string and wind instruments that plays music to accompany dance.

37. This music is played while setting the table at a banquet.

Bullim

불림

Physical gestures or songs signaling musicians for a certain rhythm.

Physical gestures or songs performed in masked dance-dramas to send a signal to the musicians as a request to play a certain rhythm (*jangdan*).

In general, songs, physical gestures or dances are used as a signal to ask the musicians to play a certain rhythm when an exchange of witty remarks (*jaedam*) gives way to dance. Silent characters who have no lines to speak use sound-making tools such as drumsticks or hand claps to send a signal.

When the performer signals for a rhythm, he aims to convey two things: one is to ask for a specific type of rhythm, and the other is to designate the speed of the rhythm. As such, the performer takes a leading role in masked dance-dramas because the musicians play rhythms either slowly or quickly according to the tempo of the songs or dance movements as requested by the performer.

Although the methods of signaling the musicians for a rhythm of a certain type and speed slightly differ from region to region, there are basically two types of *bullim* (Kor. 불림): spoken and silent *bullim*. Spoken *bullim* is to sing the line of a well-known old song, or to give a shout and make a body gesture at the same time according to the rhythm. At this, the musicians start to play a song to the rhythm, and listening to the rhythm the performer shakes the body and dances. Silent *bullim* is for mute characters without lines who signal the musicians using gestures only, such as clapping hands and striking the drum with sticks. The musicians understand the silent *bullim* and play the rhythm requested while the performer dances to that rhythm.

Bullim has several functions in a masked dance-drama. First, it functions to connect witty remarks and dances. It is used when the performer ends a comic exchange and moves on to a dance, or when conflict between characters is resolved to achieve a temporary reconciliation. Second, *bullim* serves to signal a shift from one situation to another. In a masked dance-drama with omnibus format, where various episodes exist independent of each other, dance plays an

important role in achieving transition and is accompanied by *bullim*. In other words, *bullim* heralds the end of a situation, then the transition to another situation. Third, *bullim* functions to draw a certain rhythm from the musicians.

Dwipuri

뒤풀이

Post-performance celebration.

This refers to the celebration after a *gamyongeuk* (masked dance-drama) or *pungmulnori* (rural percussion music) performance, when the performers and audience dance and have fun together.

The ceremony or group celebration that follows the end of a masked dance-drama performance to bring the whole event to a close is commonly called *dwi-puri*. Though the name varies according to region, *dwi-puri* can be divided into two parts, the mask-burning rite and the joint dancing and celebration of the performers and audience. Burning the masks and holding a rite (*gosa*) carries the meaning of invoking the gods (Kor. 청신, Chin. 請神, lit. invite god) and burning up everything inhabited by the gods so that the masks cannot be used in another rite. This is one way of expressing the end of a rite. However, in masked dance-dramas the end is often structured by placing a death-related scene at the close, such as the shaman dance (*mudangchum*) or the funeral bier-carrying procession. In such cases, the *dwi-puri* part of the performance can be regarded purely as entertainment. In sum, it can be said that *dwi-puri*, the final part of a masked dance-drama performance, embraces either a ritual to send off the gods (Kor. 송신, Chin. 送神, lit. sending the gods) or entertainment.

When masked dance-dramas were inseparable from ritual all over the country, the villagers would have prayed for peace and comfort as the masks were burned. But when ritual became separated from the performance, this kind of

ceremony was no longer held and the same masks continued to be worn in other performances. This indicates historical change in the nature of masked dance-drama from an integral part of the ritual to simple entertainment or performance.

Separated from ritual, masked dance-drama lost its aura as a seasonal rite and custom, and in the social environment of the Japanese colonial period when it was performed for commercial purposes or as a rural entertainment, *dwipuri* in most masked dance-dramas changed simply to an entertainment to be enjoyed together. These days, when masked dance-drama is frequently held in theaters where the performers on the stage are physically separated from the audience, it is hard to expect *dwipuri* to be held in such an environment. Therefore, in current performances of masked dance-drama *dwipuri* has no set form but is varied according to circumstances.

In Bukcheong Sajanori, *dwipuri* takes the form of a procession around the whole village, conducted to dispel evil spirits and promote social unity. As a recreational event, it also functioned as that one time in the year, on a big holiday, when the villagers could sing and dance and enjoy themselves all night, experiencing joy and exhilaration and releasing the tensions of daily life. Through this event they recharged themselves in preparation for the New Year. Moreover, when *sajanori*, or lion masked-dance drama, had been performed people believed that all sundry evil spirits in the house would disappear and the harvest would be a good one.

However, *sajanori* performed in the Hamgyeong-do area has likely lost its ritual aspect, and the same can be said for masked dance-drama in the Gyeong-sangnam-do area. Indeed, it is now difficult to maintain the ritual and closing function of *dwipuri*, with the burning of masks to pray for peace and good fortune, due to changes in the performance environment. But as a device bringing the performers and audience together as one and experiencing exhilaration at the end of the performance, *dwipuri* is an important distinguishing feature of masked dance-drama. It cannot be denied however that it is the feature that has changed the most due to changes in the performance environment. Finding a way to restore *dwipuri* to its original function may be the key to ensuring the vitality of masked dance-drama. As *dwipuri* has been treated as something separate to the main performance over the years, much of its positive function has been lost. It also has the aesthetic function of maintaining balance between the structured and unstructured aspects of the performance. In this sense, the

atypical, unstructured side of the performance is not something that should be eliminated but rather embraced as an important characteristic of traditional folk arts and a feature meaningful in itself.

Gilnori

길놀이

Pre-performance street procession.

The performance and procession held on the way to the masked dance-drama performance venue.

Gilnori is also called *gilgut* or *georigut*. It is the street procession to the venue where a masked dance-drama is to be held, involving all the performers in the show. Joining the masked actors are *pungmulpae*, a group that plays traditional percussion instruments, and a *gilgunak* troupe, which plays military music. They play music together and build up excitement for the main performance. The term *gilnori* (lit. street play) is also used to refer to *duraepungjang* (*pungmulnori*), the traditional music and dance procession that followed farmers as they went to work in the fields or when they returned to the village after weeding the rice paddies. *Gilnori* can also be defined as the first part of *daedongnori* (large-scale rural folk games), and functions to advertise the event and gather an audience. When the crowd comes out and joins the procession, serving as the actors and extra performers, sometimes folk games are played as well.

In the context of *gamyongeuk* (masked dance-drama), *gilnori* originally refers to the music and other performances held after a rite at the village or town shrine as the performers made their way to the performance venue. But as masked dance-drama came to be performed separate to rites, in some regions the procession to the venue was transformed into a grand street parade. The major example of such can be found in Suyeong Yaryu and Dongnae Yaryu. In the



Gilnori (street procession, Suyong Yaryu) | National Folk Museum of Korea

case of Dongnae Yaryu, from 1928 the street procession included not only the performers but also the local residents, who carried lights and other props, forming a long parade to the performance venue. Different to *gilnori* held up to that time, it was the first instance of the street procession being held as a grand, large-scale event. Due to the enthusiastic response, it has since become a customary feature of Dongnae Yaryu, and is an important example of modern recreation of a folk arts tradition.

These days, when masked dance-dramas are more often held in theaters or outdoor stages rather than outdoor village spaces (*madangpan*) the street procession is often omitted altogether, or held in varied ways according to the performance conditions. Usually, the street procession starts a short distance from the theater or a small performance is held in front of the theater with musicians playing the *eoreumgut* melody under the lead of the head gong player (*sangsoe*) to advertise the event and gather a crowd. Also, when the performers enter the

theater they may run along the aisles before going up onto the stage in an effort to connect with the audience.

Gilnori usually takes place in the busiest streets in the village or country town, such as the streets near the village shrine or the crossroads near the marketplace. During the procession, ordinary spectators may play farmers' percussion music or perform some special feat of their own, helping to enhance the mood and bring the performers and audience together as one. Therefore, *gilnori* is an important vehicle for creating a sense of unity in the local community by bringing the villagers together as a body of performers. However, after the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), cases of such street processions being organized as a large-scale parade began to appear.

Hahoetal

하회탈

Masks worn in Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori.

A mask (or masks) worn by the performers featured in *byeolsingut* held in Hahoe village.

One of the Hahoe masks made of alder wood is Korea's oldest wooden mask. Only the lion-shaped Juji is an animal mask, while all the other Hahoe masks are in the form of human faces. However, *gaksital* (bride's mask) can be seen as a deity mask, representing the seventeen-year-old *seonangsin* (tutelary deity) found in legend. According to the legend, a seventeen-year-old maiden sneaked a peek at Heodoryeong (young man of the Heo family) when he was making a mask after hanging a straw rope at the front gate to ward off evil spirits and taking a bath to purify himself. At this, he was punished by the gods and died spitting blood on the spot, while the maiden died to become the village tutelary deity. Like the Gaksi mask, the other Hahoe masks were originally the masks of

gods in human form because they were the company of Seonang Gaksi (bride). It seems, however, that as their divine nature gradually disappeared they have been perceived as art masks.

Hahoe masks are largely divided into three types: ① female masks such as Gaksi (bride), Bune (female entertainer), and Halmi (old woman); ② male masks such as Yangban (nobleman), Seonbi (scholar), Chorani (servant), Imae (low-ranking official), Jung (monk), Baekjeong (butcher); and ③ animal masks such as Juji (lion).

Gaksital (bride's mask) has powder brushed on the apricot-colored face, with rouge on the cheeks, the forehead and the lips. The bride mask looks like a young maiden, with a wide, flat nose, prominent cheekbones, and is tight-lipped to convey an unfamiliar and strained expression. However, the right eye is closed and left eye slightly open to embody the maiden's conflicting emotions of suppression and sexual curiosity. The hair is in a braided updo and a long tress of hair is hanging on either side of the face. This look symbolizes the suppressed sexual culture of society imposed on the bride.

Bunetal (mask of a female entertainer) has the face of a young woman, with powder brushed on the apricot-colored face and rouge on the cheeks, forehead and lips. The smiling expression of the female entertainer with her narrow eyes and mouth both slightly open, forming a crescent shape on the pretty oval face, and her straight, slim nose in the center are all in harmony to show off the woman's mature physical beauty and sexual charm. In addition, her hair looks like horns, as it encircles the upper half of the face like a rim, covers both ears, hangs over the lower end of the cheeks, then is rolled up in a bun. This symbolically expresses her active sexuality and seductiveness.

Halmital (mask of an old woman) has freckles rendered as green blotches on a dark red face, eyes round with a white-ringed iris, the area between the brows deeply wrinkled, and a small nose rising sharply. This mask has wrinkles carved on the cheeks, at the edges of the eyes, and on the corners of the mouth, with the lower chin pointed and the mouth wide open. *Halmital* has the look of an ugly old and unfortunate woman, but the white-ringed eyes and wide open mouth testify to her strong ability to make a living, the tenacious vitality that has taken her through the ups and downs of a life marked by poverty and discrimination. As such, the mask shows a greedy, avaricious, foul-mouthed, ill-tempered old woman, not an obedient, resigned, and weak old woman. These three types of female masks were designed to represent three age groups of women, and

are grounded in the view of women in a patriarchal society, which perceived a woman's fundamental ability and role in the family to be childbearing.

In contrast, male masks were designed to speak for their status and role in society. For example, Baekjeong (butcher) is of the lowest class as a man engaged in slaughter, but Jung (Buddhist monk) is a religious priest. Yangban (nobleman) and Seonbi (scholar) belong to the literati, while Chorani is the servant of a nobleman, and Imae a low-ranking official. Imae was also known as Beolchae, which was probably mistakenly transformed from *byeoljwa*³⁸ (Kor. 별좌, Chin. 别坐). Imae is named after a goblin named Imae (Kor. 이매, Chin. 魑魅) because he has a limping left leg, similar to the goblin whose left leg is weak.

Baekjeongtal (butcher's mask) looks grim with its orange-colored face, lump between the eyebrows, and deep wrinkles scattered in disarray on the forehead, between the brows, and on the cheeks. In addition, the narrow eyes and slightly smiling mouth of the mask reveal the butcher's malicious and cruel personality as reflected in the dance movement, "the butcher's malicious-looking walk." Also, the lump between the brows, the big, wide nostrils, and big and strong chin of the mask depict the butcher's great muscular strength.

Jungtal (monk's mask) features a big lump between the brows, a big smile with his mouth wide open, two narrow eyes glaring up, and philtrum and the tip



Halmi act (Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori)

Andong in Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2015 | National Folk Museum of Korea

of the nose lifted up at the end. Smiling this way makes the monk look sly, corresponding to the dance movement “the monk’s sly gait.”

Yangbantal (nobleman’s mask) has an orange complexion, and the long, thick eyebrows and narrow eyes open like a crescent moon exhibit the beauty of gentle curves. Also, the face of the mask is symmetric overall, showing a wide open mouth, broadly smiling. The hooked nose and large chin make a strong impression.

Seonbital (scholar’s mask) has a vermillion complexion painted over with brown. The nose is hooked, and the eyes with a white-ringed iris and sharply raised at the corners give the mask a fierce and angry look.

Like the monk and scholar masks, *choranital* (servant’s mask) has a vermillion complexion painted over with brown. It features two big, round bulging eyes outlined in white to emphasize the effect of bold relief. The tip of its nose is flattened, and the mouth slightly lifted toward the left, giving the smiling mouth a sort of twisted look. The upper and lower teeth are shown and the chin is pointed. Since the sculpting of *choranital* is not realistic like the other male masks but simplified and stylized like the animal mask *jujital*, some view the servant mask as an animal mask rather than a human mask.

Imaetal (mask of a low-ranking official) has the same orange face as the nobleman’s mask and butcher’s mask. This is in contrast to the monk’s mask, scholar’s mask and servant’s mask, whose faces are all painted vermillion. If the masks painted in vermillion have a strong look, expressing aggressive characters, then the masks colored orange give the impression of gentleness, expressing characters with embracing personalities. Although *imaetal* shares similarities with the nobleman’s mask, both featuring narrow eyes and gently curved eyebrows, the *imaetal* distinctively depicts the aesthetics of the unfinished, with the tip of the nose fallen off and the chin missing. The aforementioned legend related to the making of the masks also puts special stress on explaining the deficiency of this mask. The official Imae is a fool who walks with a limp and makes the audience laugh, according to the acting directions such as, “Imae’s limping walk.” This is because his role is set as an ignorant and foolish servant with a deficiency, in contrast to the learned and outstanding literati.

An example of an animal mask is *jujital* (lion’s mask). This mask comes in two versions, one male and one female, both consisting of three parts. The head, or upper part, of the lion mask has eyes drawn on an arch-shaped board, and a mane rendered with pheasant feathers attached to the upper edge of the board.

The nose and mouth of the lion mask are designed to stick out to produce clapping sounds by controlling the upper and lower jaws with the hands. However, this design is not realistic like the lion mask in Bukjeong Sajanori (Bukjeong Lion Play), but stylistic and symbolic. The sex of the Juji mask is distinguished by joining the upper and lower jaws of the mask: If the jaws are completely joined together, the mask represents a lion; if incompletely joined to leave the mouth open, it represents a lioness.

The form and shape of Hahoe masks mirror the lives of the common people and the society that they live in. The faces were colored apricot, dark red, orange, or vermillion depending on the sex, age, status, and personality. This tradition of distinction has been handed down to masks of later generations. In form, Hahoe masks are divided into vertically symmetric and asymmetric forms. The mask of the nobleman and the mask of the scholar are symmetric, while the mask of the servant Chorani is asymmetric due to its crooked mouth. However, as the ordinary people's social awareness grew, this situation was reversed as the mask of the servant Malttugi, a symmetric mask of ordinary form, while the mask of a nobleman is asymmetric and unordinary.

Two types of eyes are found in Hahoe masks: narrow eyes (bride, female entertainer, nobleman, low-ranking official, monk, and butcher) and eyes with a white-ringed iris (scholar, servant, and old woman). The former eyes have a smiling expression and the latter an angry look. The strong who are physically and socially advantaged and well-to-do have narrow eyes, while the weak who are at a disadvantage, dissatisfied or hostile, have the ringed eyes too. This is in contrast to the masks in other regions where angry eyes are narrow and sharp like daggers but smiling eyes are big and bulging like those of a carp.

The nose on the mask also reveals the social status and dynamics of the characters. The nobleman and the scholar have a sharp, aquiline nose, while the servant and the low-ranking official have a low, broad nose. The nose of the sexually free entertainer Bune is high, but that of the sexually suppressed bride Gaksi is flattened. After the common people's awareness grew, the nobleman's nose was made in abnormal form with a cleft lip, while the servant Malttugi's nose changed to an ordinary, straight nose.

As for the mouth, the nobleman and the scholar of the Hahoe village masks have an ordinary-looking mouth, but the lowly servant has a crooked mouth. The official Imae's chin is missing. In other regions, however, the nobleman has a cleft lip or twisted mouth, while the servant Malttugi has an ordinary mouth. In



Hahoetal | National Museum of Korea

addition, there is a lump, a symbol of strength, between the brows of the monk and the butcher. This is similar to the masks of the old monk (Noseung), old bachelor (Chwibari), servant (Malttugi), and depraved monk (Meokjung) in other regions, which also have a lump on their masks.

As such, when compared to traditional folk masks of other regions, Hahoe masks reflect the connection between changes in the masks and the history of Hahoe society and the people's social consciousness. However, some male masks of Hahoe village, such as those of the nobleman, scholar, monk, butcher, and official, have their lower jaw made separately and connected to the upper jaw using a strap so that their facial expressions can be varied by pulling the head of the mask back and forth. This technique of separating the jaws from the rest of the face, called *jeorak* (Kor. 절악, Chin. 切顎, lit. sliced jaw), is rarely found in other regions and was not used in the masks of later generations.

38. A specially appointed low-ranking government official during the Goryeo period.

Inhyeong

인형

Human or animal puppet used in puppet plays.

A toy made in the form of a human or animal or the puppet used as the means of expression in puppet plays.

Inhyeong (Kor. 인형, Chin. 人形, lit. human form) are made of various materials, including soil, wood, paper, stone, fabric, plastic, and metal. In terms of purpose and function, there are big differences between toys or puppets for exhibition and puppets used in *inhyeonggeuk* (puppet play). A toy made not in human form but in the form of an animal is referred to as an animal puppet if it appears in a puppet play and acts like a dog. Scarecrows are used even today as a puppet for exhibition.

Kkokdugaksinoreum has been passed down today in Korea as a traditional puppet play in which the puppeteer stages the show by manipulating a mix of rod puppets and cloth-bag puppets (a.k.a. glove or hand puppets) together. Some puppeteers are active in marionette shows after learning string puppet plays in the West. In reality, toy puppets for children account for the majority of puppets today.

As for traditional Korean puppets that have long been passed down, various puppets appear in Kkokdugaksinoreum, and the Buddhist monk puppet Manseokjung (or Monk Manseok) in Manseokjung nori (Buddhist puppet play). Various puppets in human or animal form appear in Kkokdugaksinoreum as the main characters: Park Cheomji, a key character and commenorator for the entire play, his wife Kkokdugaksi, his concubine Dolmeorijip (or Deolmeorijip), his nephew Hong Dongji, who eliminates the snake-shaped monster called Isimi, and Myeoneuri (daughter-in-law) and Jillyeo (niece), who associate with Sangjwa (novice monk) from the temple. This puppet show also features Pyeongangamsa (Governor of Pyeongan-do Province), a corrupt official who torments the people, Sangju (chief mourner), the son of the Pyeongan-do Province governor who holds the funeral, and Isimi, a snake-like monster which preys on

the villagers. In addition, small puppets show up to act as other characters in the play: Dongbangnoin³⁹ (Old Man of the East), Pyo Saengwon (classics licentiate Pyo), Yeongno (half-human and half-animal monster), Kkambbagi (Muk Daesa, old monk), Jageun Park Cheomji (little Park Cheomji), Hongbaekga⁴⁰ (man in red and white), Sangju, Park Cheomji's grandson, Guipari (man with dangling ears), Saryeong (duty officer), Japtaljung (monk wearing miscellaneous masks), Mongnangcheong (man with an unassertive character), and Cheongnosae (wooden bird painted blue).

It is recorded that there were two types of Manseokjung nori, a Buddhist puppet play performed in mime form: one type was a string puppet play, in which the puppeteer controls puppets by pulling the strings connected to them without making witty remarks; and the other type was an animal shadow puppet play. The string puppet characters include the monk Manseok, roe deer, deer, carp, and dragon. This type of string puppet play was at times performed together with Kkokdugaksinoreum. For the animal shadow puppet play, animal puppets, including a dragon, carp, roe deer, and deer, were drawn on paper and shadows were created by shedding light on them.

In the latter half of the 19th century, puppeteers made a living by touring the country to stage puppet shows. Carrying a box stage around the neck, the puppeteers put on one-man puppet shows by putting their hands in the box-stage to manipulate small puppets.

Puppet plays give the audience an objective and broader perspective of their own behavior, enabling them to see aspects they were unaware of. In addition, the puppeteer's outstanding skills in handling the puppets made the audience marvel and gave them great joy. Puppets today are no longer simple two- or three-dimensional forms of objects, but they are high-level living things whose symbolism grows by day. Therefore, puppets have emerged as a medium that impacts human lives and mental activity by diverse means, that is, content. Also, their function, materials, and methods of expression have rapidly been evolving in pace with human technology and imagination.

39. Known as Dongbangsak or Dongbangseok, he is said to have lived on extraordinarily long time.

40. A man wearing a mask and upper garment colored red on one side and white on the other, who does not pay back the money for the wine he drinks on credit.

Jaedam

재담

Witty remarks in folk drama.

Repartee, or witty, interesting, and funny remarks.

Jaedam (Kor. 재담, Chin. 才談. lit. gifted talk) refers to witty, funny, and humorous remarks. In real life, one may make witty remarks to overcome a crisis in a critical situation. In that case, we may say that one made witty remarks, but we cannot say that one made *jaedam*. Not only should *jaedam* contain witty remarks, it should also be interesting in itself. That is, *jaedam* should be enjoyable as literature. In many cases, it makes people laugh. The fact that we laugh after listening to certain remarks implies that we accept the remarks positively and feel that they are interesting. Therefore, it can be said that something that makes us laugh is also interesting. Some remarks that are witty and interesting can be called *jaedam*. However, it would be better to define *jaedam* as witty, interesting, and funny remarks because funny remarks make us laugh.

Such *jaedam* abounds in traditional Korean drama such as masked dance-dramas, puppet plays, *gut nori* (shaman ritual drama), and *nongak japsaeknori* (performances by actors in traditional Korean farmer's music). In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the majority of narratives in these traditional plays consist of *jaedam*. Korean traditional plays were enjoyed in open spaces, such as a yard, and have been handed down as if they were the common works of the people of the time. As a result, these plays came to possess elements that reflect the will to overcome and share various issues of the age even by literary means. An example of such literary means is a command of *jaedam*, or witty remarks. This is because witty remarks, or repartee, are the outcome of free and creative minds that are the product of overcoming and properly enjoying numerous issues regarding nature and society.

Narratives of Korea's traditional plays are rich in repartee. Acting and performance are behavior used by people to overcome their natural and social destinies and the restrictions imposed upon them, and as a way to take the lead in their

lives. Likewise, traditional Korean plays, which were publicly performed in the open, contain elements showing people overcoming various problems and the circumstances of the day. One of those elements is *jaedam*, which is incorporated into traditional plays. These witty remarks are the linguistic result of people of the time exercising their free and creative human minds to solve diverse issues and situations. Therefore, *jaedam* is the essence of the Korean language as it represents the most interesting and witty remarks.

Jaedam in traditional Korean plays has great implications as a valuable cultural heritage for us today as we strive to overcome or solve the problems and situations of our time.

Jangdan

장단

Rhythms used in the music for folk drama.

A generic term for the rhythms (or rhythm patterns), the beat and rhythm formed over a set unit of time in the music performed in traditional Korean folk plays.

Jangdan are used in *gamyongeuk* (masked dance-drama), *inhyeonggeuk* (puppet play), and *gut nori* (drama performed in shaman rites). We can examine the kinds, characteristics and origins of *jangdan* by dividing them into two broad categories: one is rhythms for instrumental music performed by musicians to accompany the dances performed by various characters, and the other is rhythms for the songs sung by actors and shamans who appear in the performances.

The rhythms for instrumental music are generally played to accompany dance in masked dance-dramas and puppet plays. These rhythms include *yeombul jangdan* (rhythm of Buddhist chanting), *taryeong jangdan* (folk rhythm), *gutgeori jangdan* (rhythm of shaman rites), and *jajinmori jangdan* (fast-tempo rhythm).

Also, the rhythms often used for various songs in masked dance-dramas and puppet plays include *jungjungmori jangdan*, *gutgeori jangdan*, *taryeong jangdan*, and *jajinmori jangdan*, which feature three small beats and four major beats. In addition, other rhythms are sometimes used in *pansori* (traditional narrative song), *sijo* (traditional three-verse poem), and *muga* (shaman song). On the other hand, the music performed for *gut nori* and the songs sung by shamans or male musicians use rhythms that are common to masked dance-dramas and puppet plays. However, the rhythms of shaman music played in the region are also heavily employed.

For the musical accompaniment in masked dance-dramas, among traditional folk plays, the *yeombul jangdan*, *taryeong jangdan*, and *gutgeori jangdan* are used, while the *dangak jangdan* is used in some regions. Of these, the *yeombul jangdan* consists of three small beats and six major beats. The *taryeong jangdan*, *gutgeori jangdan*, *jajinmori jangdan*, and *dangak jangdan* rhythms all have three small beats and four major beats in common, but they differ in the strength or weakness of the sound and form.

The *taryeong jangdan* can be identified with music played in Hwanghae-do Province, Seoul and Gyeonggi-do Province. This rhythm pattern stresses the third small beat of the third major beat in the performance.

The *gutgeori jangdan* is widely used in masked dance-dramas, but the tempo and development of the rhythm vary from region to region. For example, *gutgeori jangdan* rhythms in Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum, Eunyul Talchum, Songpa Sandaenori, Yangju Byeolsandaenori, and Goseong Ogwangdaenori have the same pattern, in which small beats are divided again into two, to create a densely filled rhythm. It can be also said that these *gutgeori jangdan* rhythms were derived from the shaman rites performed in Gyeonggi-do Province, given their similarities with the rhythms of “Changbu Taryeong” (“Song of a Male Entertainer”), a representative shaman song of the region. *Gutgeori jangdan* in Tongyeong Ogwangdae and Suyeong Yaryu comprise three small beats and four major beats, but have a sound added to the first and third small beats of each major beat, and a stress in the third small beat of the third major beat. In other words, the rhythm called *gutgeori* in Tongyeong Ogwangdae and Suyeong Yaryu has the same form as the rhythm called *taryeong* in the masked dance-dramas performed in the Hwanghae-do region, including Bongsan, Gangnyeong, and Eunyul, as well as in the Seoul and Gyeonggi-do region, including Songpa and Yangju. *Gutgeori jangdan* in Dongnae Yaryu has a form that mixes

the abovementioned *gutgeori jangdan* and *taryeong jangdan* of the Hwanghae-do, Seoul and Gyeonggi-do regions.

As another type of rhythm with three small beats and four major beats used in masked dance-dramas, *dangak jangdan* can be found in Bongsan Talchum and Songpa Sandaenori. Very fast in tempo, *dangak jangdan* has the same rhythm pattern as *hwimori jangdan* used in *sanjo* (free-style solo music) or *pansori*. *Dangak jangdan* sounds as if it consists of four major beats only, because the very fast tempo makes it hard to distinguish the small beats.

The *jangdan* with three small beats and four major beats used in traditional Korean music can be divided into *jungjungmori jangdan*, *gutgeori jangdan*, *taryeong jangdan*, and *jajinmori jangdan* depending on the tempo and form. Songs in masked dance-dramas mostly use these rhythm patterns consisting of three small beats and four major beats. In addition, other rhythm patterns are used in masked dance-dramas when the performer sings well-known popular songs while emphasizing the musical characteristics of the songs. A major example is *sijochang*, narrative songs based on *sijo* poems, featured in the Yangbanchum (dance of the nobleman) act of Bongsan Talchum, where the Yangban (nobleman) and Malttugi (servant) write and sing these songs.

In the traditional Korean folk plays, the names of *jangdan* are used not simply as terms defining rhythm patterns, but also the names of instrumental pieces performed by the musicians. The same name may refer to different rhythm patterns depending on the region and genre of folk performance. A case in point is the *gutgeori jangdan*, which can be frequently heard in folk plays. *Gutgeori jangdan*, derived from shaman music of the Gyeonggi-do region, was performed mostly by the *samhyeonyukgak* ensemble, composed of *piri*, *haegeum*, *daegeum* (large traverse bamboo flute), *janggu*, *buk*, and the like. However, in Jeolla-do Province and the southern part of the country, this *jangdan* came to be called *jungjungmori jangdan*, which consists of the same three small beats and four major beats yet is different in form, then took root in the southern region as *gutgeori*. The difference between the *gutgeori jangdan* of folk plays in Hwanghae-do Province, Seoul and Gyeonggi-do Province and the *gutgeori jangdan* performed in the other regions seems to be related to the abovementioned regional variations. In other words, the *jangdan* used in folk drama provides us with a musical basis for discussing the interconnectedness between works and regions. Moreover, the rhythm used gives us a clue to confirm the interconnectedness between the music of *minsokgeuk* (traditional Korean folk drama) and other types of traditional music.

Also, *jangdan* in folk drama carries out the role of portraying particular characters or scenes. In the case of masked dance-drama, at the start of the show, characters such as a Sangiwa (novice monk), the lion, leper, and nobleman perform a dance that is interpreted as a ritual to scare off evil spirits. In this scene, *yeombul jangdan* or slow *gutgeori jangdan* are played. Also in scenes featuring monks, the *yeombul jangdan* is played for the dance of Noseung (old monk). In Kkokdugaksinoreum, the *gutgeori jangdan* is performed for the unique dance of Pyo Saengwon (classics licentiate Pyo). In this way, particular rhythms are used to better convey the personalities of characters and the symbolism of scenes to the audience and to enhance the dramatic effect of the show. This is the defining characteristic of *jangdan* in traditional Korean folk drama. Furthermore, certain rhythms are used in the folk dramas to assist the development of the show and to inform the audience of a shift in scenes. In the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum, the *taepyeongso* (double-reed wind instrument) plays the melody of *jajinmori jangdan* when there is a transition in scenes. Of course, only the *jajinmori jangdan* is maintained while the melody changes each time. Still, when the audience hears the *jajinmori jangdan*, they recognize that there will be a transition to the next scene. In other words, *jajinmori jangdan* serves to signal changes in scene in Kkokdugaksinoreum.

Tal

탈

Mask worn to express a certain character.

Mask made in the form of human or animal faces and worn by the actors to express certain characters.

Tal, or masks, are found around the world. There are masks in a variety of forms in Asia, Europe, Africa, Oceania, and Melanesia and other regions. However, since the Quran of Islam bans Muslims from making human or animal idols for

performance, masks cannot be used in the Near East region, including Arabia, Northeast Africa, and the Balkans as well as in North Africa, which are under the influence of Islam.

Masks are used for a broad range of events and performances, including rites to pray for a good harvest, shaman rites to ward off evil spirits, *narye* (Kor. 나례, Chin. 儺禮, exorcism rite), shamanic rites to heal diseases and illnesses, initiation rites, funerals, festivals, masquerades, plays, and dances. As such, masks have very diverse functions and meanings.

The most notable magical function of masks is to wear them in rites to pray for a good harvest. In general, a richer mask tradition can be found in agrarian nations whose people led a settled life than in nomadic nations, where the people move about to hunt game or graze livestock. When the level of technology was low and farming was greatly governed by natural conditions, magical agricultural rites abounded. This tradition is still found in various areas even today. Although agricultural rites are many and varied in form, in many cases the deities and spirits that bring a good harvest were manifested in the form of masks.

The next most remarkable magical function of masks is their use in rites to banish evil spirits.

For example, *sinseongtal* (deity mask) is a Korean mask placed in temples or shrines to be worshiped or to perform ancestral memorial services before the mask. In the worship of a god wearing a mask, such a mask can also be seen as a type of deity mask.

Uisultal (medicine mask) consists of two types. One is a mask to evoke protective forces to keep a person healthy. The other is a mask that is believed to have the power to keep away evil forces that bring disease. The mask used for *chibyeonggut* (shaman healing rite) can be also seen as a type of medicine mask. Here, the character “ui” (醫, old form of 醫) from *uisul* represents a shaman (巫) holding a weapon shaped like an arrow (矢) to fight off evil spirits that cause illness.

Chueoktal (memorial mask) refers to a mask that is intended to mourn and commemorate a deceased person and to pay one’s respects to the soul of the deceased.

Jeonjaengtal (war mask) is a mask with a face frightening enough to arouse fear in the enemy. Ancient Greeks and Romans used combat shields engraved with grotesque-looking masks, and attached dreadful masks to their armor and helmets. Japanese samurai also used mask-helmets.

Masks for funerals have a few different functions, such as protecting the deceased from evil spirits, preventing destruction of the face of the deceased so that the soul may not wander about endlessly in the other world, and representing the deceased during the funeral service.

Ipsatal is a mask used for an initiation ceremony, a rite of passage to celebrate coming of age. In the initiation rite, the mask is worn by the master of the rite, who holds such ceremonies for the young. In some regions, however, the young person who has completed the ceremony puts on a mask that represents his or her new role as an adult. This type of mask dates as far back as ancient Greece when the master of the ceremony wore a wooden mask in the initiation rite for the young on the Peloponnesian Peninsula.

In addition, masks were used as a means of camouflage when primitive men went hunting. They approached animals while imitating animal sounds or covered themselves with the hide of animals.

A totem is an object in nature which primitive men believed to have special blood ties with their tribes or clans and was hence sacred. They regarded this natural object as a symbol of their groups, and imposed social restrictions upon people by means of taboos related to the object, which is called totemism. The groups worshiping totems had myths about the long ago relations between their ancestors and the totems, and conducted religious rites based on those myths. Masks played an important role in performing the rites. Meanwhile, high priests, sorcerers and shamans often had their own powerful totems. Wearing their totem masks, they could chase off evil spirits, punish their enemies, locate game and fish, and heal diseases.

Giwutal refers to a mask used in a rite to pray for rain. This mask was worn by some tribes in *giwuje* (rain rite), a rite universally practiced across the world in supplication for rain.

Yesultal (art mask) refers to a mask used in traditional Korean dances and plays. Such masks show a global distribution and are too numerous to list. *Yeongeuktal* (theater mask) was initially used to show the role or characteristics of the characters performed to the audience when they were seated far away from the stage. As such, the masks were made so that the audience could easily recognize the character just by looking at the shape, and judge whether the character was a good person who helps the protagonist or a bad person. Not only human beings but also animals and natural beings, including trees, the sun, and clouds, were expressed with masks.

Along with cultural development, art masks came into being from the human desire to artistically express and solve the problems of humans, going beyond the stage of solving issues between humans and nature or between humans and gods with magical practices. As the function of magical solution shifted toward creative expression, the function of masks was transformed from magic to art.

In traditional societies, masks were used in almost all areas of human life. In doing so, they came to have different characteristics by country. They vary from country to country in their materials, symbolic patterns engraved on the masks, and functions. To accurately understand such differences, we need background knowledge on the traditional beliefs and culture of each country. Therefore, through the masks of the world various aspects of human civilization can be studied.

Masks were originally used for magical purposes to keep away ghosts or have one's wishes come true borrowing the power of a supernatural being that transcends human abilities. Just as religion sets humans apart from animals, humans alone intended to achieve magical purposes through the use of masks.

Tteiru Tteiru

떼이루 떼이루

Song that starts the puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.

The song sung by the lead puppeteer at the start of the traditional puppet play Kkokdugaksinoreum.

Before Kkokdugaksinoreum officially begins, *daejabi*, the lead puppeteer, sings a song starting with “Tteiru Tteiru.” *Sanbaji* then repeats this song or music is played by instruments such as the hourglass-shaped drum (*janggu*), barrel drum (*buk*), small gong (*jing*) and double-reed wind instrument (*taepyeongso*).

In other words, “Tteiru Tteiru” is a song used to signify the beginning of



Stage for Kkokdugaksinoreum | Seoul National University Museum | National Folk Museum of Korea

Kkokdugaksinoreum or instruct the musicians to start playing the accompaniment. The accompaniment for Kkokdugaksinoreum is mainly played by the small gong, hourglass-shaped drum, barrel drum and double-reed wind instrument whereas “Tteiru Tteiru” is accompanied by the hourglass-shaped drum only.

“Tteiru Tteiru” is a vocal song that uses phonemes and varies upon the circumstances of the performance when improvisation is added. For the long version, *daejabi* first leads the song and then *sanbaji* repeats it, which is then followed by the music. For the simple version, *daejabi* sings the short song and is immediately followed by the small gong without the song being repeated. In the Kkokdugaksinoreum version the give and take of the leading song and the receiving song continue for quite a long time with musical accompaniment played by the *sadangpae*. This is a professional group of itinerant entertainers which developed a specific genre of song called *sadangpaesori*, such as “Gyeongisan Taryeong” and “Seodosan Taryeong.” The scale mainly used in *sadangpaesori* is *gyeongtori*, a type of *pansori* melody, which is identical to that used for “Tteiru Tteiru” in puppet

theater. This is largely the result of “Tteiru Tteiru” adopting the musical language of *sadangpae*. One rhythm cycle of “Tteiru Tteiru” sung by Nam Unyong consists of 4 beats divided into units of 3. That is, 12 small beats are divided into units of 3, making 4 beats. The basic rhythm pattern of 4 beats in units of 3 helps clearly recognize that one rhythm cycle consists of 4 beats.

However, “Tteiru Tteiru” often includes modified rhythm patterns other than the basic one of 4 beats divided into units of 3. In other words, by grouping the first 6 small beats of the 12 small beats into units of 2, this makes three beats divided into units of 2; by grouping the remaining 6 small beats into units of 3 to make 2 beats, the resulting rhythm consists of 5 beats divided into units of 3 and 2. Changes to the rhythm by mixing units of 2 and 3 small beats can be occasionally found in the songs sung by professionals rather than unprofessional songs sung by the general public such as folk songs. Thus, the modification of rhythm in “Tteiru Tteiru” can be considered the traces of professional music techniques used by *sadangpae*, or female itinerant entertainers.

On the other hand, the lyrics of “Tteiru Tteiru” are not always the same as the content and length is often improvised.

It is notable that “Tteiru Tteiru” is a song exclusive to Kkokdugaksinoreum and is not found in other forms of folk drama such as masked dance-drama and shaman ritual drama. That is, “Tteiru Tteiru” is a symbolic song that signifies the start of the Kkokdugaksinoreum performance. Also, use of the initial sound “tte,” which is rarely heard in the songs of other performing art genres, attracts the attention of the audience and makes them concentrate on the performance from the beginning. Hence, “Tteiru Tteiru” sung at the beginning of Kkokdugaksinoreum serves to draw the audience into the world of the puppet play. In this respect, “Tteiru Tteiru” is sometimes interpreted as a trace of *cheongsinga*, a song for invocation of the gods sung at the first stage of a *gut* (shaman rite).

APPENDIX

Romanization Guide

1. Romanization of Korean vowels

Simple vowels									
ㅏ	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅡ	ㅣ	ㅞ	ㅟ	ㅚ	ㅜ
[a]	[eo]	[O]	[u]	[eu]	[i]	[ae]	[e]	[oe]	[w]

Diphthongs									
ㅗㅓ	ㅗㅕ	ㅛㅕ	ㅠㅕ	ㅞㅕ	ㅟㅕ	ㅚㅕ	ㅚㅓ	ㅚㅕ	ㅚㅓ
[ya]	[yeo]	[yo]	[yu]	[yea]	[ye]	[wa]	[wae]	[wo]	[we]

2. Romanization of Korean consonants

Plosive consonants								
ㄱ	ㅋ	ㆁ	ㄷ	ㅌ	ㅌ	ㅌ	ㅍ	ㅍ
[g, k]	[kk]	[k]	[d, t]	[tt]	[t]	[b, p]	[pp]	[p]

Affricates		
ㄷㅈ	ㅈㅈ	ㅈㅈ
[j]	[jj]	[ch]

Fricatives		
ㅅ	ㅆ	ㅎ
[s]	[ss]	[h]

Nasals		
ㄴ	ㅁ	ㅇ
[n]	[m]	[ng]

Liquid	
ㄹ	
[r, l]	

1.

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daughter of Waejangnyeo, the tavern owner

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BALTALKKUN 227, 262, 280, 347

Puppeteer for baltal plays

BANGSANGSI 024, 186

A deity that drives away evil spirits or spirits that hover in mountains and streams, and plants and trees

BEOPGONORI 053

Performance in which a drummer plays the beopgo (small drum, dharma drum) while dancing

BONSANDAE 040

Sandaenori that has been passed down in some parts of Seoul including Nokbeon and Aeogae

BUKCHEONG SAJANORI 059, 391

Sajanori, an annual celebration that was held for days before and after the 15th day of the first month of the lunar calendar in the Bukcheong areas of Hamgyeongnam-do Province

BYEOLSANDAENORI 036

A new version of masked dance performance that emerged after sandaenoreum was abolished during the reign of King Injo, 16th monarch of the Joseon Dynasty, and was derived from bonsandae that had been performed in Nokbeon and Aeogae, Seoul, but developed in different areas

BYEOLSINGUT 030

A large-scale village ritual performed by a shaman

C

CHAMBONG 184

As the junior 9th rank government position in the Joseon Dynasty, Chambong is one of the characters who appears in Jain Palgwangdae

CHIMNORI 047

The second scene in the fifth act of palmeokjungchum dance in Yangju Byeolsandaenori

CHOEGWARI 070

A character who appears in the Yangban act in Eunyul Talchum and is commonly called Chwibari, a drunken monk, in other types of talnori

CHORAENGI 338

A servant of Yangban appearing in various gamyeonggeuk

D

DAEDONGGUT 183

Large-scale communal ritual that was frequently performed on Yeonpyeongdo Island and the Pyeongan-do regions in Haeju and Ongjin of Hwanghae-do Province

DANGGEUMAEGI 180

A goddess worshipped in shamanic rituals that prayed for abundance including for a big catch of fish, a good harvest, or for peace in the home

DEOLMI 021

A folk puppet play designated as Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No.3

DOLMEORIJIP 057

A character who appears as Yeonggam's concubine in act 7 of Bongsan Talchum, causing conflict with Miyalhami

DONGHAEAN BYEOLSINGUT 179

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One of the masks that appears in Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori, designated as National Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 69

GEOLLIP 031

Performing pungmul (percussion music and dance) while going from house to house to collect grain and money in return for praying for happiness, in case of a special event in which a communal group needs funds

GEORIGUT 392

A term for gutgeori that is performed in the last act of Donghaean Byeolsingut

GEOSA 179

A Buddhist term for those who are not monks but are studying the teachings of Buddha at home

GUTGEORICHUM 363

Dance performed to gutgeori jangdan when pungmul pangut or talchum is performed

GWANGDAE 178

Entertainers who perform theatricals such as talnori (mask play) or inhyeonggeuk (puppet theater), acrobatics, or pansori (epic musical storytelling) for a living

GWANGDAEPAE 238

A group composed of those who belonged to the social class gwangdae, (Kor. 광대, Chin. 廣大, lit. clown) who performed plays for ordinary people

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Slaves who belonged to government agencies

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A government agency that was responsible for songs and dances performed by female entertainers during the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties



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HANSAMCHUM 078, 082, 096, 368

Dance with long sleeve extensions

HEONMOK 067

A young monk character who appears in Act 2 in Eunyul Talchum and is commonly called Sangjiwa in other masked dance performances

HEONMOKCHUM 066

The title of Act 2 in Eunyul Talchum

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IPCHUM 363

Free-style dance in which a performer does an impromptu dance to the natural flow of breath, expressing emotions

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Concubine of Yeonggam who appears in Suyeong Yaryu, Dongnae Yaryu, Tongyeong Ogwangdae, and Masan Ogwangdaenori

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Concubine of Yeonggam who appears in various gamyeongueuk and Kkokdugaksinoreum

JEMILJU 115

Concubine of Yeonggam who appears in various gamyeongueuk and Kkokdugaksinoreum

JEMULPOJIP 071

Concubine of Yeonggam who appears in various gamyeongueuk and Kkokdugaksinoreum

JISINBAPGI 061

A religious and shamanic rite to the village deity at the beginning of the Lunar New Year, when participants go from house to house, praying for the happiness and wellbeing of the family of each house

JUJIPAN 212

Big fan-shaped plate that is held in the hands of Jujigwangdae while he is dancing in Yecheon Cheongdan noreum

JULTAGI 039

Performance where a tightrope walker carries out a wide range of acrobatic feats while walking on a rope

JUNGGWANGDAE 298

A performer who leads the procession of pungmul nori, playing a role of chasing away evil spirits in Tongyeong Ogwangdae

K

KANG ICHEON 301

A Roman Catholic who lived in the late Joseon period

KKOKDUGAKSINORI 218

Korea's folk puppet play where diverse puppets such as Hong Dongji or Park Cheomji are manipulated behind the scenes

KKOKSOE 059

A character who plays a servant of Yangban in Bukcehong Sajanoreum



MANSIN 385

A term that is used in the northern Hangang River to refer to a shaman who performs a ritual of inducing the descent of a spirit

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The title of the 7th act of Bongsan Talchum where Miyalhalmi plays the lead role

MOKJUNG 083

An apostate monk character who appears in talchum performed in the central region of Korea

MUBU 025

As the husband of a female shaman, mubu assists the female shaman in a gut performance, playing an accompaniment to shamanic songs and dances

MUDONGCHUM 031

Performance by a little boy who stands on the shoulders of an adult man

MUGEUK 023

A dramatized gut performance carried out by a shaman, also known as mudang gut nori

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A dance performance carried out in the mundungi leper act of ogwangdae and mask plays called yaryu that have been handed down in the regions of Gyeongsangnam-do Province and Busan



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An old man appearing in act 7 of Bongsan Talchum, comforting the soul of Miyal who was beaten to death by her husband Yeonggam

NAMSADANGPAE 033

Troupes of male itinerant entertainers

NAMSEONG GWANHUIJA 301

A Chinese poem composed by Kang Icheon at the age of 11 after he watched a traditional puppet play and a mask performance outside Namdaemun in 1778

NARYE 186

Rite that was performed at the royal court or houses of ordinary people to ward off evil spirits on the last day of the lunar calendar year

NOSEUNG 115

A man who unfortunately became an apostate after living in secular society despite the years of his monastic living



OBANGSINJANGMU 036

Dance performance by the five gods guarding five directions which are represented by blue, yellow, black, white and red in Gasan Ogwangdae



PAGYESEUNG 354

Apostate monk

PUNGMUL 041

A general term for instruments that are played in pungmulnori which include kkwaenggwari (small handheld gong), taepyeongso (a type of a wind instrument), sogo (small hand-held drum), buk (barrel drum), janggu (hourglass-shaped drum), and jing (large gong)



PYOSAENGWON	301	SEONANG GAKSI	293
A character puppet that appears in the Isimi act of Kkokdugaksinorem and is a nobleman who lives in Gwanmeori, Haenam of Jeollanam-do Province		Seonangsinsin (village deity) of Hahoe-ri in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province	
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SAENNIM	036	SEONG HYEON	186
One of the noblemen who appears in gamyeonggeuk		A scholar and a civil official in the early Joseon Dynasty	
SAMJIN SAMTOE	359	SIMCHEONGGUT	251
Dance movement in which performers move forwards and backwards three times, respectively		Gutgeori where Simcheongsin is worshipped in byeolsingut that has been passed down in the east coast regions of Korea	
SANDAE	040	SINAWI	387
A mountain-shaped stage structure installed for sandae japeuk (miscellaneous vulgar plays), which were first built in the Goryeo era and used throughout the Joseon era		A type of improvised instrumental ensemble that is rooted in shamanic music	
SANDAENORI	033, 040	SODANG JESEOKGUT	183
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A nobleman who appears in gamyeonggeuk			

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Shaman rite as part of Donghaean Byeolsingut which is mostly performed by male shamans (yangjung or hwaraengi) in masks

TALNORI 030

A masked play in which dramatic scenes are acted out by actors wearing masks of characters, animals or gods

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Big performance by male shaman musicians called hwaraengi

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A spoken cue used in the beginning part, or as a signal of a scene change, in traditional puppet plays in Korea

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Concubine of Yeonggam who appears in the Yeonggam Halmi act of Eunyul Talchum

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Didactic performance which is similar to today's comedies

UNSIMGE JAKBEOP 381

One of the ritual events that are held for the propagation of Buddhism. It is a type of butterfly dance (nabichum) that carries the idea of repaying Buddha's kindness.

URANG 196

Bull testicles

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WONSUNGI 036

Monkey with which Sinjangsu (shoe seller) appears in gamyeonggeuk

Y

YANGJUNG 257

Male shaman

YARYU 019, 030, 154

Type of masked dance-drama handed down on the eastern side of the Nakdonggang River

YEOMBUL 114

Chanting the Buddhist scriptures

YEOSADANG 259

Troupes female of itinerant entertainers active in the late Joseon period

YEOWONMU 177, 203

Women's circle dance

YUHUI 038

Confucian comic drama

APPENDIX

2.

Featured Photos



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Gangnyeong Talchum | National Folk Museum of Korea 075p.



Bukcheong Sajanori | National Folk Museum of Korea 060p.



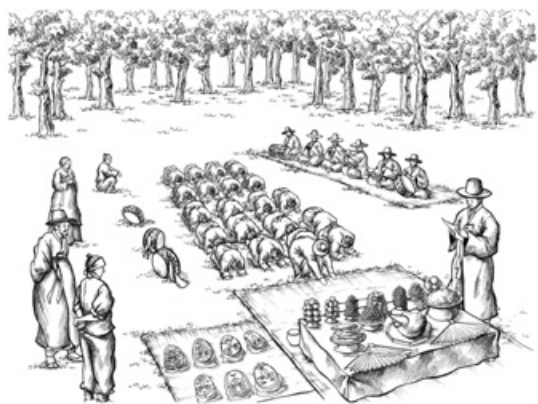
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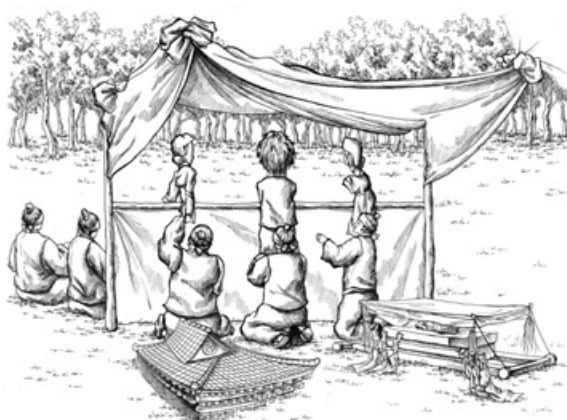
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Bongsan Talchum



Miyalhami



Mokjung (depraved monk)



Chwibari



Nojang (old Monk)



Sangjiwa (novice monk)



Doryeonnim



Saja (lion)



Malttugi



Somu



Sangjiwa (novice monk)

Eunyul Talchum



Saja (lion)



Mat Yangban



Malttugi



Miyalhalmi



Shaman



Meokjung



Wonsungi (monkey)

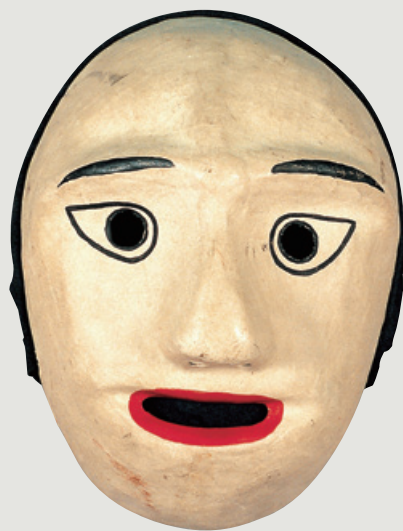


Somu

Gangnyeong Talchum



Saja (lion)



Sangjiwa (novice monk)



Meokjung (depraved monk)



Miyalhalmi



Noseung (old monk)



Malttugi



Chwibari



Namgangnoin



Mat Yangban



Namgangnoin

Yangju Byeolsandaenori



Yeonnip



Wanbo



Nunkkeumjeogi (blinking man)



Sinharabi



Omjung



Meokjung



Chwibari



Nojang (old monk)

Goseong Ogwangdae



Waejangnyeo



Yeonggam



Miyalhalmi



Malttugi



Seonnyeo (fairy)



Cha Yangban



Bibi Yangban



Won Yangban



Jorijung



Mundungi

Tongyeong Ogwangdae



Hongbaek



Palseonnyeo (eight fairies)



Bittureumi



Bibi



Posu (hunter)



Jageuneomi (concubine)



Meok



Cha Yangban

Dongnae Yaryu



Somu



Mo Yangban



Fourth Yangban



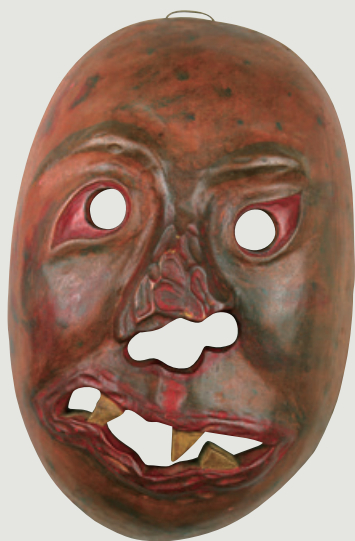
Halmi (old woman)



Won Yangban



Malttugi (servant)



Mundungi (leper)



Jedaegaksi

Suyeong Yaryu



Beom (tiger)



Jongga Doryeong



Halmi



Su Yangban



Cha Yangban



Yeongno



Malttugi



Gaksi (bride)

Hahoe Byeolsingut Talnori



Yangban



Imae



Baekjeong (butcher)



Bune



Jung (Buddhist monk)



Chorani

Kkokdugaksinoreum



Yangban



Park Cheomji



Halmi (old woman)



Kkokdugaksi puppet



Pijori



Hong Dongji



Pyeongangamsa



Sangjwa (novice monks)



Dolmeorijip



Little Park Cheomji



Sangju (chief mourner)

Seosan Parkcheomji nori



Park Cheomji



Park Cheomji's first wife



Park Cheomji's concubine



Park Cheomji's younger brother



Sogyeong (blind man)



Myeongno
(Park Cheomji's brother-in-law)



Seunim (Buddhist monk)



Manjangkkun (who sings an elegy at the head of a funeral procession)

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